ASPECTS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

英语语言研究

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前　言

语言是随着人类社会产生而产生，随着人类社会发展而发展的一种特殊社会现象。它具有表达思想的交际功能，也具有反映一个国家历史文化的社会功能。英语语言的发展也正好反映出英国社会发展的全貌。自从古英语形成以来，英语从一个“出身”不显赫，地位略显卑微的小语言，发展成为当今世界上最重要、使用最广泛、最具影响的全球性语言，它经历了大约1500年的漫长岁月。也就是说，英语从一个生命力微弱的婴儿成长为一个年富力强的巨人，这不能不引起人们对它的社会发展、历史背景和语言内部变化的关注和研究的兴趣。对于涉足英语学习或英语语言研究的人来说，有意识或下意识、或多或少地都想了解一些有关英语语言发展的历史和现状。

关于语言发展的研究，一般说来有两种方法：宏观语言研究和微观语言研究。在宏观方面，以社会历史发展为主线，研究某个语言体系的起源、演变和湮灭。在微观方面，研究某个语言系统中具体的词和语法规则的起源、演变和废弃。为了让英语学习者在英语学习中注意观察、研究“活的英语”（living English），本书从宏观的角度，以社会历史发展为线索，展开对英语演变过程的研讨，主要探讨的内容有：英语的起源；英语与其他语言的关系；英语的几个发展阶段；世界主要英语变体的状况；现代英语的语言特点；当今世界英语的地位；21世纪英语的展望等。本书通过探讨英国社会的发展及历史的变迁，阐述英语语言的变化，说明语言与人类历史的密切关系。我们应该认识到，了解英

语语言变化的基本状况，不仅有助于我们了解英语民族和国家的历史文化，学会从历史发展和语言演变的角度来分析语言现象，也有助于我们掌握和认识英语这门语言。

最后，有一点需要说明的是，本书借鉴了许多学者的研究成果，如果没有他们的著作，我不可能完成本书的编写。在编写过程中，对借用过其成果的作者，我本人表示衷心的感谢。由于我不可能在每一处都注明我所受惠前人之处，敬请详见本书的参考书目。

张克勤

2002 年 2 月

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General Considerations

综　　述

导读：

英语从6世纪形成至今，已有1500年的历史。它经历了古英语、中古英语、现代英语（早期现代英语和晚期现代英语）三个主要发展阶段。在这期间，英语的内部结构发生了许多深刻的变化，现代英语的大部分词汇和语法结构都是多个历史时代的产物。它们反映出不同时期、不同社会的历史影响。同时，在长期的发展过程中，这些变化呈现出语言发展的特点和内部规律。从语音方面看，英语语音演变的过程就是从一种音位体系过渡到另一种音位体系的历史。从词汇方面来看，新词的产生和旧词的消亡直接而敏感地反映着社会生活和日常生活的变化，同时，也是词汇系统内部矛盾运动的结果。从语法方面看，英语从一种综合性语言演变成为一种分析性语言，这是质的飞跃。值得强调的是，引起语言变化的基本条件是社会的变革与发展。当今世界进入了21世纪，经济全球化和网络信息技术正在把世界编织成一张紧密的大网，英语在国际交往中正起着世界通用语的作用。

Among the many living forms of human speech, and those countless tongues which have arisen and perished in the past, the English language, which has now spread over so many parts of the world, is as humble and obscure in its origin as any other. It is, of course, in no sense native to England, but it was brought by the German tribes — Jutes, An-

gles, and Saxons, who conquered the island in the 5th and 6th centuries; and its nearest relations are to be found among the humble dialects of a few barren islands on the German coast. When the Anglo-Saxon ancestors came first to ravage Britain, and finally to settle there, they found the island inhabited by a people weaker, indeed, but infinitely more civilized than themselves. For several centuries the Celts in England had enjoyed the benefits of Roman government, and shared in the civilization of the Roman Empire; they lived in walled cities, worshipped in Christian churches, and spoke to a certain extent, at least, the Latin language; and it is possible, if this Teutonic invasion had never happened, that the inhabitants of England would be now speaking a language descended from Latin, like French or Spanish or Italian. It is true that English has become almost a half-sister to these 'Romance languages', as they are called, and a large part of its vocabulary is derived from Latin sources: but this is not in any way due to the Roman conquest of Britain, but to the later causes.

English carries the story of its origin as an independent language in this name. The Engl- part of the word goes back to the Angles. The '-ish' part means 'belonging to' in this case, the language that belonged to the Angles — the 'Angle-ish' language. The history of the English language begins with the migration of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons to Britain. But in fact there is no record of the English language until the year 597, when the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity and learned the Latin alphabet. The Christianizing of Britain in 597 brought England into contact with Latin civilization and made significant additions to the English vocabulary.

It is customary to divide the history of the English language into three periods: Old English, Middle English, and Modern English. Old English runs from the earliest period from the 5th century to about 1100;

Middle English from 1100 to 1500; Modern English from 1500 to the pres ent day. Sometimes Modern English is further divided into Early Modern, 1500 – 1700, and Later Modern, 1700 to the present.

The English language from the 5th century to 1100 is called Old English, which seems like a foreign language to us. When English came into history, it was divided into several more or less autonomous kingdoms, some of which at times exercised a certain amount of control over the others. In the 8th century, Northumbrian power declined, and the center of influence moved southward to Mercia, the kingdom of the Midlands. A century later the center shifted again, and Wessex, the country of the West Saxons, became the leading power. The most famous king of the West Saxons was Alfred the Great. In the military sphere, Alfred's great accomplishment was his successful opposition to the Viking invasions. In the 9th and 10th centuries the Norseman emerged from their homelands in Demark and the Scandinavian Peninsula. After many years of hit-and-run raids, the Norsemen landed an army on the east coast of England in the year 866. On the eastern side the Norse rule was prevail. This was called the Danelaw. The Scandinavian invasions resulted in a considerable mixture of the two peoples and their languages. The linguistic result to all this was a considerable injection of Norse into the English language. It is supposed that the Norsemen influenced the sound structure and the grammar of English. But this is hard to demonstrate. Some of the differences between Old English and Modern English are merely differences in orthography. In grammar, Old English was much more highly inflected than Modern English is. In vocabulary Old English is quite different from Modern English. Most of the Old English words are what we may call native English: that is, words which have not been borrowed from other languages but which have been a part of English ever since English was a part of the Into-European. Old English did certainly contain borrowed words.

Now, on the contrary, the majority of words in English are borrowed, taken mostly from Latin and French. The Old English vocabulary was not.

The Norman Conquest (1066) explains many of the shifts in vocabulary that have taken place since the time of the Anglo-Saxons. After Normans came to England, French became the language of the court, the language of the nobility, the language of government, the language of literature. It is in vocabulary that the effects of the Conquest are most obvious. Thus French words came into English, all sorts of them between 1100 and 1500, until at the end of that time many people must have more French words than English at their command. Despite the many French loanwords, English remains English, not a dialect of French. The very heart of the vocabulary remained English. Most of the highly frequently used words — the pronouns, the prepositions, the conjunctions, the auxiliaries, as well as a great many ordinary nouns and verbs and adjectives — were not replaced by borrowings. English grammar, as opposed to vocabulary, remained virtually unaffected by French, and grammatical developments that had begun much earlier during Anglo-Saxon times continued without interruption through the Conquest. Although 1066 in no way marks a change of languages for the people of England, the event can be adopted as a divider between two periods of English: Old English and Middle English. Middle English is characterized both by its greater French vocabulary and, more importantly, by the loss of inflections. By the close of the Middle English period, however, only two of these inflections remained in use, '-es' for plural nouns and the past tense marker '-ed'.

The transition from Middle to Modern English started at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. The beginning of Modern English witnessed three important developments: the rise of Lon-

don English, the invention and practice of printing, and the spread of new learning. Then the Renaissance produced many scholars, who were knowledgeable in foreign languages, especially Greek and Classical Latin. Their liberal attitude towards language made possible the introduction of a great number of words into English. Modern English then was still a Germanic language, but it differed from Old English in many ways. The sound system and the grammar changed a good deal. Modern English is remarkable for the way in which other superfluous forms and unnecessary terminations have been discarded. Another great characteristic of Modern English is the use of word order as a means of grammatical expression. This is said to be a simplification, but it isn't really. Languages don't become simpler; they merely exchange one kind of complexity for another. One change was the elimination of a vowel sound in certain unstressed positions at the ending. Another change is what is called the Great Vowel Shift. These two changes then produced the basic differences between Middle English and Modern English. Also there were several other developments that had an effect upon the language. One was the invention of printing, which was introduced into England in 1476. The period of the 16th and 17th centuries was the period of the English Renaissance. New ideas multiplied, and new ideas meant new language. Englishmen had grown accustomed to borrowing words from French as a result of the Norman Conquest; now they borrowed from Latin and Greek. The greatest writer of the Early Modern English period is of course Shakespeare, and the best-known book is the King James Version of the Bible, published in 1611. The Bible has made many features of Early Modern English perfectly familiar to many people down to present times, even though we do not use these features in present-day speech and writing.

The history of English since 1700 is filled with many movements and counter-movements, of which we can notice only a couple. One of these

is the vigorous attempt made in the 18th century, and the rather half-hearted attempts made since, to regulate and control the English language. Many people of the 18th century, not understanding very well the forces which govern language, proposed to polish and improve and restrict English, which would rule on what people could and could not say and write. The academy never came into being, but the 18th century did succeed in establishing certain attitudes that, though they haven't had much effect on the development of the language itself, have certainly changed the native speaker's feeling about the language. In part a product of the wish to fix and establish the language was the development of the dictionary. Another product of the 18th century was the invention of 'English grammar'.

Probably the most important force in the development of English in the modern period has been the tremendous expansion of English-speaking peoples. In 1500 English was a minor language, spoken by a few people on a small island. Now it is perhaps the greatest languages in the world, spoken natively by over 370 million people and as a second language by many millions more. When we speak of English now, we must specify whether we mean American English, British English, Australian English, Indian English, South African English or what, since the differences are considerable.

The English language of today reflects many centuries of development. The political and social events that have in the course of English history so profoundly affected the English people in their national life have generally had a recognizable effect in their language. In the modern time the development of England as a maritime power, the expansion of the British Empire, and the growth of commerce and industry, of science and literature, have, each in its way, contributed to make the English language what it is today. Today English is widely regarded as having be-

come the global language. The importance of the English language is naturally very great. The importance is not just a matter of first language speaker numbers or territory; it depends also on the importance that those speak English as a second or foreign language will determine the world future of the language. The English language is greatly influenced by international information technology caused by the computer revolution. It is also experiencing a social, economic and demographic transition in a worldwide extent. In short, the English language reflects in its entire development the political, social, and cultural history of the English people and international scientific development as well.

Therefore, it is certain that without a notion of the history of English, the understanding of the English language cannot be very satisfactory as language development is determined by historical change. The following chapters will just hit the high spots in the history of the English language.

Chapter I Indo-European Family of Languages

第一章 印欧语系

1. Observations of the Indo-European Family

第一节 印欧语系的描述

导读：

使用语系这个概念，既可以说明一种语言是由另一种语言经历若干世纪演变而来，也可以表明各种语言彼此之间的关系。世界上大多数语言可归属成十大语系。其中印欧语系是最大的一个语系，它的语言地域跨越欧亚大陆的大片地区。印欧诸语言归属为一个语系，其主要根据是，这些语言有共同的基本词汇，这一语系中不同语言的语法词缀在语音上有相互对应关系，尤为重要的是有共同语音交替模式。19 世纪 20 年代的"格里木定律"提出研究语音对应规律，对印欧语系中诸语言的辅音规则音变作了描述。之后，19 世纪 70 年代的"维尔纳定律"对"格里木定律"的例外作了补充解释。印欧诸语言源发于 5000 年前黑海以北的草原地区，是一种没有文字记载的印欧原始语言。大约在公元 2000 年前后，印欧原始母语分化成不同的方言或语言。从 5 世纪后期，印欧诸语言传到世界其他许多地区，分为 12 个主要语族。其中，英语属于日尔曼语族。

Division Of Languages. If one compares a number of languages, it probably soon appears that some of them have some sort of relationship to one another, while others may seem quite isolated. If then we are able to trace a group of these apparently related forms in several languages to a common ancestor by means of older writings, it may sometimes become almost certain that these forms must be branches, as it were, from a common root. By doing further back, we may sometimes be able to compare a number of early forms each of which is the ancestor of later developments in the different languages, so as to establish a strong probability that they in their turn must all be descended from a common prehistoric original. This supposed original will be must older than the earliest written languages, so that it can never be verified with absolute certainty, but if other qualities in the languages we are comparing corroborate the relationship and common ancestry which we have arrived at the above method, we may find ourselves well on the way to being able to construct a genealogy of our languages — in other words to clarify them into families.

According to linguists, most of the languages in the world fall into ten families: Sino-Tibetan, Indo-European, Altaic, Hamito-Semitic, Finno-Ugric, Dravidian, Ibero-Caucasian, Malayo-Polynesian, Austro-Asiatic and Bantu. Of all these ten, Indo-European Family is the largest one. As English belongs to the Germanic branch, which represented itself as a member of the Indo-European family, it is worth observing the Indo-European family and the Germanic branch in details.

Idea Of The Division. The idea of a genetic relationship between certain of the Indo-European languages (Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Germanic, and Celtic) was first proposed in 1786 by the British orientalist Sir William Jones, who suggested that these languages all derive from some single 'common source'. In the following century the detailed evidence underlying Jones's assertion was presented, and a number of other

languages were shown to be members of the Indo-European family. A genetic relationship based on a phonological comparison was established in the early 19th century by Jacob Grimm, who set up correspondences between the sounds of equivalent words in Germanic, on the one hand, and Greek and Latin, on the other. In the course of the 19th century, statements of sound changes accounting for relationships between the parent language and the daughter languages became more accurate and refined. Although Grimm's Law established a correspondence between stop and spirant consonants in Germanic and the consonants of other Indo-European languages (for example, the stop in 'p' in Latin 'pater' corresponds to the spirant 'f' in 'father'), it left a number of forms unaccounted for. These residues were later explained by Grassman's Law, on the dissimilation of aspirates in Greek and Sanskrit, and Verner's Law, which showed the influence of the original place of stress on the reflexes of Indo-European consonants in Germanic.

Recognition Of Indo-European Family. The Indo-European languages are the descendants of a single unrecorded language, believed to have been spoken over 5,000 years ago in the steppe regions north of the Black Sea and to have split into a number of dialects by about the 3rd millennium B.C. These dialects, carried by migrating tribes to Europe and Asia, developed in time into separate languages, a number of which have left written records of their various stages. These languages, past and present, can be grouped into twelve main branches (see Appendix A). 'Indo-European' is the name given to the set of linguistic forms from which nearly all the European languages as well as those of Persia and a very large part of India can be showed to have descended. 'Indo-European' is used because it merely suggests that the languages it comprises cover most of Europe and India, or that Europe and India mark the length of its confines. The predominance and pioneering position of the

German philologists of the 19th century sufficiently accounts for the earlier term 'Indo-Germanic'. 'Aryan' was the name (from the Sanskrit Aryan 'noble') which the fairer-skinned bringers of the Hindu civilization to India from the North gave themselves to distinguish them from the darker and less cultured peoples whom they largely conquered, and the belief among the predecessors of the more scientific German philologists that Sanskrit, with its remarkably full inflexions, was the ancestor of all the then studied European and Asiatic languages, may explain the use of the term 'Aryan' for what we now call Indo-European.

Beginning at some period several thousand years B.C., this 'Indo-European', starting perhaps at a point in Southern Europe near the Asian borders, spread itself both East and West. As it spread, with the changing needs of its speakers for different homes, it mixed with many 'non-Indo-European' tongues and was modified by them variously at different stages. As speakers spread farther and farther from the starting-point, their kinds of Indo-European developed more and more qualities, which made them different from their ancestor. In some such way, very broadly, may be described the gradual growth through successive stages of what have become the modern languages of Europe, Persia and India.

If any separation of one community from another takes place and lasts for a very big length of time, differences grow up between them. The differences may be slight if the separation is slight, and we have merely local dialects. Apparently the Indo-Europeans had not invented the wheel, since their reconstructed language has no word for it. Their language did include words for the numbers 1 through 10 and for the number 100, but probably nothing in between. They had a word for copper, but had no word for iron; nor did they have a term for sea or ocean, which suggests that the original tribe lived inland. They had words for the domestic animals sheep, pig, cow, horse, and dog, as well as for the wolf

and bear. They also have a name for snow. On the other hand, they may become so considerable as to render the language of one district unintelligible to the speakers of another. In this case we generally have the development of separate languages. Even where the differentiation has gone so far, however, it is usually possible to recognize a sufficient number of features, which the resulting languages still retain, in common, to indicate that at one time they were one. It is easy to perceive a close kinship between English and German. 'Milch' and 'milk', 'brot' and 'bread', 'fleisch' and 'flesh', 'wasser' and 'water' are obviously only words, which have diverged from a common form. In the same way a connection between Latin and English is indicated by such correspondences as 'pater' with English 'father', although the difference in the initial consonants tends somewhat to obscure the relationship. When we notice that 'father' corresponds to Dutch 'vader', Gothic 'sadar', German 'vater', Greek 'pater', Sanskrit 'pitar' and Old Irish 'athir', we are led to the hypothesis that the languages of a large part of Europe and part of Asia were at one time identical. This lays the foundation of the recognition of Indo-European family.

***Discovery Of Sanskrit*.** The most important discovery leading to the hypothesis was the recognition that Sanskrit, a language of ancient India, was one of the languages of the family. This was first suggested in the latter part of the 18th century and fully established by the beginning of the 19th. The extensive literature of India, reaching back further than that of any of the European languages, preserves features of the common language much older than most of those of Greek or Latin or German. The material offered by Sanskrit for comparison with the other languages of the group, both in matters of vocabulary and inflexion, was thus of the greatest importance. When we add that Hindu grammarians had already gone far in the analysis of the language, had recognized the roots, classified

the formative elements, and worked out the rules according to which certain sound changes occurred, we shall appreciate the extent to which the discovery of Sanskrit contributed to the recognition and determination of the relation that exists among the languages to which it was allied.

***Home Of The Indo-European Family*.** It is obvious that if the languages just described represent the progressive differentiation of an original speech, a population somewhere at some time must have spoken this speech, which we may for convenience call the Indo-European mother tongue. What can be learned of these people and their early location?

Concerning their physical character, apart from the obvious fact that they belonged to the white race, the Indo-European languages are spoken today in many cultures, which until recently have had completely unrelated heritages. And to judge by the large variety of people who have spoken these languages from early times, it is quite possible that the people of the original Indo-European community already represented a wide ethnic diversity. Early literary tradition occasionally preserves traces of a people at a former stage in their history. The earliest book of the Hindus, for example, the Vedas, shows an acquaintance with the Indus but knows nothing of the Ganges, including that the Indo-Europeans entered India from the northwest. In general, we may be fairly sure that the only religions in which it is reasonable to seek the original home of the Indo-European family are the mainland of Europe and the western part of Asia.

Prior to the middle of the 19th century it was customary to assume an Asian home for the family. Such an opinion was the natural result of biblical tradition, which placed the Garden of Eden in the neighborhood of Mesopotamia. This notion seemed to find confirmation in the discovery that Sanskrit, situated in Asia, not only was an Indo-European language but also was in many ways closest in form to the parent speech. In the course of the 19th century the comparative study of the Indo-European

languages brought to light a number of facts that seemed to support such a supposition — the larger part of the languages of this family in Europe from the earliest times. Now the Indo-European languages generally have a common word for ' winter' and ' snow'. It is likely that the original home of the family was in a climate, which at certain seasons at least was fairly cold. On the other hand, it is not certain that there was a common word for the sea. Still more instructive is the evidence of the fauna and flora known to the Indo-European community. There are no anciently common Indo-European words for elephant, camel, lion, tiger, monkey, crocodile, parrot, rice, bamboo, palm, but there are common words, more or less widely spread over Indo-European territory, for snow, oak, pine, birch, willow, bear, wolf, ox, deer, rabbit, sheep, eagle, bee, crab, etc. The honeybee is indigenous over almost all Europe but is not found in those parts of Asia, which have ever been considered as possible locations of the Indo-European community.

Furthermore it is well known that the branches of the Indo-European family fall into two well-defined groups according to the modification, which certain consonants of the parent speech underwent in each. They are known as the ' centum' and ' satem' groups from the word for hundred in Latin. The ' centum' group includes the Hellenic, Italian, Armenian, Balto-Slave and Albanian. A line running roughly from Scandinavia to Greece separates the two, and suggests a line of cleavage. Although this division has been cited as supporting a homeland in central Europe — in the general area of the present Baltic countries — linguists have been unable to find additional characteristics that would have been associated with such a fundamental split. With increasing knowledge about the classification of dialects and the spread of linguistic change, it has become more plausible to view the centum-satum division as the result of a sound change in the eastern section of the Indo-European speech commu-

nity, which spread through Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Slávic, and into classification itself does not permit deductions about early migrations. All these show that northern or central Europe for the Indo-European family has come to be considered more probable.

Grimm's Law. A further important step was taken when in 1822 a German philologist, Jacob Grimm, following up a suggestion of a Danish contemporary, Rask, formulated an explanation which systematically accounted for the correspondences between certain consonants in the Germanic languages and those found for example in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. His explanation, although subsequently modified and in some of the details of its operation still a subject of dispute, is easily illustrated. According to Grimm, a 'p' in Indo-European, preserved as such in Latin and Greek, was changed to an 'f' in the Germanic languages. Thus we should look for the English equivalent of Latin 'piscis' to begin with an 'f', and this is what we actually find, in 'fish'. What is true of 'p' is true also of 't' and 'k': in other words, the original voiceless stops (p, t, k) were changed to the sounds (f, p, h). So Latin 'centum' means English 'hundred'. A similar correspondence can be showed for certain other groups of consonants, and the formulation of these correspondences is known as Grimm's Law. The cause of the change is not known. It must have taken place sometime after the segregation of the Germanic from neighboring dialects of the parent language. There are words in Finnish borrowed from the Germanic which do not show the change, and which therefore must have resulted from a contact between Germanic and Finnish before the change occurred. There is also evidence that the shifting was still occurring as late as about the 5th century B.C. It is often assumed that the change was due to contact with a non-Germanic population. The contact could have resulted from the migration of the Germanic tribes or from the penetration of a foreign population into Germanic territory.

Whatever its cause, the Germanic sound-shift is the most distinctive feature marking off the Germanic languages from the languages to which they are related.

Grimm's Law is important for historical linguistics because it clearly demonstrates the principle that sound change is a regular phenomenon and not a random process affecting only some words, as had been thought previously.

Verner's Law. Certain apparent exceptions to Grimm's Law were subsequently explained by the Danish philologist, Karl Verner and others. It was noted that between such a pair of words as Latin 'centum' and English 'hundred' the correspondence between the 'c' and 'h' was according to rule, but that between the 't' and 'd' was not. The 'd' in the English word should have been a voiceless spirant, that is, a 'þ'. In 1875, Verner showed that when the Indo-European accent was not on the vowel immediately preceding, such voiceless spirants became voiced in Germanic. The formulation of the explanation made by Verner is known as Verner's Law. This law is a philological formula containing certain modifications of Grimm's Law. In Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives became voiced when they were in a voiced environment (p — f, t — θ k — h) and the Indo-European stress was not on the immediately preceding syllable. The law was of great significance in vindicating the claim of regularity for the sound changes, which Grimm's Law had attempted to define.

Language Similarity. The surviving languages of the Indo-European Family show various degrees of similarity to one another, the similarity bearing a more or less direct relationship to their geographical distinction. For example, if we take the words for 'is' in some of the better known European and Asiatic languages, we may reconstruct with fair probability the ancestral prehistoric word from which all must be descended: and this relationship will be found to be confirmed by other evi-

dence, Latin est, Greek esti, Sanskrit asti, Russian est, German ist, Italian e, etc. Now by studying the earliest forms and the later history of each of these languages, we can be pretty sure that the ancestral form from which all descend was esti. We know, for instance, that in Sanskrit an original e- sound became a, and that the Italian pronunciation reduced the earlier Latin est to such forms as esti should always remain all concerned that they are only probable reconstructions of ancestral or primitive forms a distinct from those attested by writing. Though such forms are necessary to the speculative specialist in the early history of languages and in classification, for the student who is primarily only dealing with English, it is clear that the fewer of them he uses, the better.

Divisions Of The Indo-European. There are twelve main groups of Indo-European languages, all traceable back to the Indo-European primitive ancestor. These are divided into roughly an Eastern and a Western set of groups. The Eastern set has in common certain basic changes from the original system, such as a general shift in the pronunciation of the so-called 'guttural' consonants g and k to a 'palatal' position. Thus, for instance, the Indo-European assumed primitive form for the numeral 100 is kmtom: but whereas languages of the Western set of groups such as Latin (centum) retain the original k-sound, Sanskrit has changed the k to an sh- sound (satam) and Russian has the word as sto. For this reason, the Western languages are commonly referred to as 'Centum-languages' and the Eastern — after the Old Persian or Iranian form of the word — as 'Satem-languages'. The six Eastern groups are: Indic, Iranian, Baltic, Slavic, Albanian and Armenian, including all the Slavonic tongues ancient and modern such as Lithuania and Latvia; including the languages of old and new India of which Sanskrit is the type. The Western set consists of Celtic, Germanic, Italic, and Hellenic groups.

Besides the ten branches described above, recent discoveries have added two new groups to the family: Hittite and Tocharian. Until recently Hittite has been known to us chiefly from references in the Old Testament. Their language was preserved only in a few documents not interpreted. In 1907, however, an archaeological exception uncovered the site of the Hittite capital in Asia Minor, at Boghazkoi, about ninety miles east of Ankara, containing the royal archives of nearly 10,000 clay tablets. The texts were written in Babylonian cuneiform characters and some were in Babylonian, the diplomatic language of the day. Most of the tablets, however, were in an unknown language. Although a number of different languages seem to have been spoken in the Hittite area, nine tenths of the tablets are in the principal languages of the kingdom. It is apparently not the original language of the district, but it has been given the name Hittite.

Some scholars treat Hittite as co-ordinate Indo-Hittite. It is sufficient to think of Hittite as having separated from the Indo-European community some centuries before any of the other groups began to detach themselves. Tocharian is the name given to the language in which some fragmentary texts were discovered in the early part of the present century in central Asia. To the philologist the discovery is of some importance since the language belongs with the Hellenic, Italic, Germanic and Celtic groups.

2. Observations of the Germanic Languages

第二节　日尔曼语族的描述

导读：

日尔曼诸语言归属于印欧语系的一个语族——日尔曼语族。古代日尔曼诸语言是大约公元前500年间斯堪的纳维亚南部和德

国北部日尔曼部落所使用的语言，最著名的为 4 世纪的哥特语。现在通行的日尔曼语言则有：英语、德语、荷兰语、丹麦语、瑞典语、挪威语、冰岛语等。日尔曼语族是一个比较大的语族。由于日尔曼语的民族分布在相当广阔的地区，他们的语言逐渐发生显著的方言变化，终于，方言变化使日尔曼诸语言分化成为三个语支：（1）东日尔曼语支，主要以已灭绝的哥特语为代表；（2）北日尔曼语支，主要以古北欧语为代表，包括现代挪威语、冰岛语、瑞典语和丹麦语等；（3）西日尔曼语支，包括低地德语、英语、弗里西亚语、佛兰芒语等。日尔曼语有其自身的语言特点，主要表现在语音方面和语法方面。

Division Of The Germanic. Probably in the millennium preceding the Christian era there grew up in Northern Europe a type of Indo-European from which descended all those languages, which we call Germanic. This family, which is of special importance to students of English, falls into three divisions — the East Germanic, represented by Gothic and the language of the Vandals, both long extinct, and the latter only preserved in proper names; the North Germanic or Scandinavian; West Germanic, the earliest forms of which are Old Saxon, the Old English dialects, Old Frisian, all of which belong to the so-called Low German group, and Old High German, the name given to a group of west Germanic dialects in which the voiceless stops of Germanic, preserved in all other dialects and languages of this family, underwent a change to open consonants or affricated sounds respectively, during the 6th and 7th centuries. Other consonants also underwent change, but less universally than Germanic p, t, k, though even in the case of k the opening or affrication was not carried out with perfect uniformity, in all positions, in every H. G. dialect. Within the West Germanic branch itself, it is now usual to assume an Anglo-Frisian group, which subsequently differentiated

into Old Frisian and Old English. This assumption of an original Anglo-Frisian unity is based upon certain very close agreements in vocabulary, and in the treatment of the vowel sounds, which exist between Old English and Old Frisian. At the same time, the Anglo-Frisian unity, although a very plausible hypothesis, is contested by some scholars, and a further critical examination of the points of agreement between the two languages is desirable in order to determine how far these are really due to a common, and how far to an independent development.

***The East Germanic*.** The principal language of East Germanic is Gothic. By the 3rd century the Goths had spread from the Vistula to the shore of the Black Sea. In the next century they were Christianized by a missionary, named Ulfilas (311 – 383). The knowledge of Gothic is almost wholly due to a translation of the Gospels and other parts of the New Testament made by Ulfilas. Except for some runic inscriptions in Scandinavia it is the earliest record of a Germanic language we possess. For a time the Goths played a prominent part in European history, including in their extensive conquests both Italy and Spain. In these districts, however, their language soon gave place to Latin, and even elsewhere it seems not to have maintained a very tenacious existence. Gothic survived longest in the Crimea, where vestiges of it were noted down in the 16th century. To the East Germanic branch belonged also Burgundian and Vandalic, but our knowledge of these languages is confined to a small number of proper names.

***The North Germanic*.** North Germanic is found in Scandinavia and Denmark. Runic inscriptions from the 3rd century preserve our earliest traces of the language. In its earlier form the common Scandinavian language is conveniently spoken of as Old Norse. From about the 11th century on, dialectal differences become noticeable. The Scandinavian languages fall into two groups: an eastern group including Swedish and

Danish, and a western group including Norwegian ceased to be a literary language in the 14th century, and Danish with Norwegian elements is the written language of Norway. Of the early Scandinavian languages Old Icelandic is the most important. Iceland was colonized by settlers from Norway about A.D. 874 and early preserved a body of heroic literature unsurpassed among the Germanic peoples. Among the more important monuments are the Elder or Poetic Edda, a collection of poems that probably date from the 10th or 11th century.

The West Germanic. West Germanic is of chief interest to us as the group to which English belongs. It is divided into two branches, High and Low German, by the operation of a Second Sound-Shift analogous to that described as Grimm's Law. This change, by which West Germanic p, t, k, d, etc. were changed into other sounds, occurred about A.D. 600 in the southern or mountainous part of Germanic area, but did not take place in the lowlands to the north. Accordingly in early times we distinguish as Low German tongues Old Saxon, Old Low Franconian, Old Frisian and Old English. The last two are closely related and constitute a special or Anglo-Frisian subgroup. Old Saxon has become the essential constituent of modern Low German; Old Low Franconian, with some mixture of Frisian and Saxon elements, is the basis of modern Dutch in Holland province of Friesland, in a small part of Schleswig, in the islands along the coast, etc. High German comprises a number of dialects. It is divided chronologically into Old High German (before 1100), Middle High German (1100 – 1500), and Modern German (since 1500). High German, especially as spoken in the midlands and used in the imperial chancery, was popularized by Luther's translation of the Bible into it (1522 – 1532), and since the 16th century has gradually established itself as the literary language of Germany.

Germanic Characteristics. The Germanic family has certain

characteristics, which distinguish it and all its developments from other Indo-European groups. Two characteristics stand out, first, a strong tendency to fix the stress (weight or emphasis) of a word on its root syllable or as near to its beginning as possible. In this respect, the sound system of Old English is typical of the fixing in Germanic languages. And the second is the building up of a 'two-tense' system in the verb (the present tense and the past tense). During the centuries immediately before Christ, the Common Germanic collection of forms used among tribes of Northern Europe developed within itself separatist tendencies; and with the progress of the migrations of its users into Western and Central Europe, there arose those historical languages from one section of which English is descended. A so-called 'Eastern' group of Germanic languages has only left written monuments in the Gothic translations of the Bible made near the end of the 4th century A.D. But a 'Northern' group has given us the Scandinavian tongues with monuments from almost all periods since the 4th century: and a 'Western' group, to which English belongs, has given us the languages of Germany, Holland, Friesland, Flemish Belgium and England, with historical records which in England, where early monuments are fullest, go back to the 7th century A.D. All of these languages and their dialects showed the common Germanic characteristics, of which the most significant two, namely the system of fixed stress and the two-tense verb, have already been mentioned.

The terms 'stress' and 'accent' are often vaguely used. Generally they may refer to either pitch, that is the height or tone of the voice of the speaker, or the emphasis or force with which the sound is uttered. Using the term 'stress', as already indicated, in the sense of emphasis or force or weight of utterance, we shall keep the term 'accent' for pitch and intonation. Both stress and accent, in these restricted senses, play a great part in languages, and their relative importance varies from one group of

tongues to another. Indo-European had functions of importance for both the stress and the musical accent: during its development and before the emergence of separate groups of descending languages, it seems that stress came to dominate. But this stress was free, that is it could be on different parts of the same word according to context and meaning. This free stress has been preserved in some conservative languages such as Russian. Now it is the Germanic language characteristic more than any other group to fix the stress as near as may hear every day from ordinary speech, the syllables at the end of a word in such a language as puts a strong stress at the beginning, will tend to be first blurred in utterance and finally even lost completely. It is this fixing of the stress near the beginning of a word in the Germanic languages that is the primary cause of the reduction and loss of inflexions, which has been so marked a characteristic of English. It is, as has effects in inflectional reduction have been varied in speed among the different Germanic languages, though clearly perceptible in all. It is a mistake, as some have done, to think of this simplifying of inflexions, which is so marked a quality in English, as necessarily anything to do with progress. There are advantages in a fully-inflected language like some of the Slavonic family, which English cannot have, such as the avoidance of ambiguity, for instance. This loss of inflexions, then, is mainly just the natural result, which follows from the Germanic fixation of the primary stress, the syllables farthest away from this stress tending to become weak and later to cease to be heard.

Indo-European had an elaborate system of verb-conjugation, in which the multitude of forms, that in historic times came mainly to indicate the time or tense of the action, showed rather the way the action was thought of or looked at by the speaker, or its 'aspect' as the grammarians have called it. Thus, for example, one series of forms in the verb showed the action as continuing or progressing (durative aspect); another indicat-

ed that it was thought of as quite independent of time (aorist, punctual or momentous aspect); a third meant that the action was considered as presenting a state resulting from an already completed act (perfect aspect); while yet a fourth implied that it was being repeated several times (iterative aspect). These and many other of such verbal system, which survive in some groups of languages fairly fully, as in Greek, have been simplified in varying degrees in different languages. But the outstanding feature of the Germanic verb is that it has properly only two senses, a present and a past, which are indicated by the primary forms of the verb, the other tenses being showed by means of auxiliary verbs and compound tenses, etc. Now this extreme simplification of the verb in Germanic has fundamentally affected the character of the languages concerned, resulting not only in a multiplying of compound tenses, but also in a great subtlety and, at times, in greater opportunities for looseness in the language.

The third characteristic of Germanic is its peculiar development of the two main classes of its verbs into the so-called strong and weak kinds. Strong verbs are those, which indicate their tense by change of vowel according to regular series, as in the modern forms 'drive', 'drove', 'driven'. Such series of vowel-variation in relation to change of meaning were called by Grimm Ablaut-series and are known in English as vowel-gradations; we see such a gradation in 'fidus', 'foedus', 'fides'. But the distinctive feature of Germanic is that it uses such gradations to show regularly change of tense in the verb, whereas in other languages this is only a less frequent device. But this method of showing tense by change of vowel in a series was originally only used in primary verbs, that is in those which denoted simple actions and were not merely derived from the forms of other words. Verbs, which denote actions, derived from other words (such as to 'love' from the noun 'love') Grimm called weak because they are secondary or derivative and because they do not change

their root-vowel in conjugation. Weak verbs, then, are those which are secondary or derived, which showed their tense not by gradation of vowel, but merely by adding something. But this distinction of strong and weak verbs as a Germanic characteristic is less extent through later changes of sound. One might guess, for instance, that Modern English 'buy', 'bought' was a strong verb because of the change of vowel: but it is historically a weak verb. Its final 't' reminds us of the dental suffix (d or t) which is mark of the weak verb; and by reconstructing through the Gothic forms we can see that in Common Germanic the corresponding types to by and bought were 'bugjan' and 'buhta', with no change of vowel. It is later sound-changes in various periods that have led to the misleading Modern English forms with differing vowels according to tense. But the point is that this distinction between strong and weak verbs no longer holds good without reservation for the language of today, and cannot be safely insisted on.

The Germanic were properly merely one of the many tribes who afterwards came to be grouped together under the name Germanic (they may even have been in fact Celts speaking a Germanic dialect): but the term, already implicit in the Roman historian A.D. 100, is both in general use and convenient. The older name Teutonic for the Germanic languages is still sometimes to be met with.

3. English in the Germanic Languages
第三节 日尔曼语族中的英语

导读:

西日尔曼语支又分为高日尔曼语分支和低日尔曼语分支，英语属于西日尔曼语支中的低日尔曼语分支，这是第二次音变（也

称高地德语音变）的结果。根据“格里木定律”，英语与其他日尔曼语有着相互对应关系。由于英语与日尔曼诸语言有着紧密的联系，只要稍加注意，就不难发现英语、德语、丹麦语及荷兰语有着明显的共同语言特征：在许多本族语词汇中，各语言中相同意思的词有着很相似的拼写形式；各语言中有些词缀的结构也极其相似；各语言中都有一些强式动词（不规则动词），它们的过去式和过去分词的变化都是在词根的元音上进行变化。这些语言特点的一致性不是偶然的，也不是这些语言之间的借代现象，而是这些语言源发于同一个已灭绝的原始母语。

***Position Of English In The Germanic*.** English belongs with the Low Germanic branch of the Indo-European family. This means in the first place that it shares certain characteristics common to all the Germanic languages. For example, it shows the shifting to certain consonants under the head of Grimm's Law. It possesses a 'weak' as well as a 'strong' declension of the adjective and a distinctive type of conjugation of the verb — the so-called weak or regular verbs such as fill, filled, filled, which from their past tense and past participle by adding -ed or some analogous sound to the stem of the present. And it shows the adoption of a strong stress accent on the first or the root syllable of most words, a feature of great importance in all the Germanic languages, since it is chiefly responsible for the progressive decay of inflections in these languages. In the second place it means that English belongs with Germanic and certain other languages because of features, which it has in common with them and which enable us to distinguish a West Germanic group as contrasted with the Scandinavian languages (North Germanic) and Gothic (East Germanic). These features have to do mostly with certain phonetic changes, especially the doubling of consonants under special conditions. And it means, finally, that English, along with the other lan-

guages of Northern Germany and the Low Countries, did not participate in the further modification of certain consonants, known as the Second or High German Sound-Shift during the 8th century. In other words it belongs with the dialects of the lowlands in the West Germanic area. Therefore, English is closer to Dutch, Flemish, Frisian as Old Saxons moved to Britain in about 5th and 6th centuries and they did not have the influence of the Second Sound-Shift.

English belongs, in all its stages, to the Indo-European family of languages, formerly called Indo-Germanic, and still earlier Aryan. According to Anglo-Saxon chronicle, the tribes came to settle forcibly and overrun most centuries were from parts of Northern Germany and were Angles, Saxons and Jutes. These brought with them what is called a 'Low German' type of language, or rather one which was transplanted to England too early to be affected by the 'High German' change of consonants, which has made the distinction between the speakers of High German (most Germans and Austrians) and those of Low German (Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, some German dialects in rural areas and English). A word like English 'better', which substantially retains today the root-sounds it had among the Anglo-Saxons, became by the High German consonant-shift the German 'besser', the other Low German dialects agreeing with English. Old English or Anglo-Saxon, then, belongs to the Low German sub-division of the Germanic group of languages and is derived from dialects spoken by the Germanic invaders of Romanized Britain.

Relations Between English And Germanic Languages.

The resemblances and agreements in the forms of words, in vocabulary, and in inflexions, which exist between such languages as modern English, Dutch, Danish, and German, are so striking that they cannot fail to impress even the least instructed student of two more of the above languages. The farther back we go in the history of these tongues, and the earlier the

forms of them, which we compare, the closer becomes the resemblance. That there is an intimate connection between them is obvious. They are commonly classed together under the general name of the Germanic or Teutonic languages. We make a few points of resemblance for consideration: (1) The modern Continental languages of the so-called Germanic group have, in a large number of cases, practically the same group of sounds associated with the same meaning. German 'kommen', Dutch 'komme(n)', Sweddish 'komma', and English 'come'; German 'tag', Dutch 'dag', Danish 'dag', and English 'day'; German 'mutter', Dutch 'moeder', Swedish 'moder', and English 'mother', and so on throughout the vocabulary, we find that these languages have in common thousands of words identical in meaning, and differing but little in pronunciation. The resemblances of modern English to the other languages are in any cases not so close, but none the less unmistakable. (2) We find that all of these languages agree in possessing a class of so-called weak verbs, which form their past tense by the addition of the suffix -de, -te, -ed, or -ede, the root of the verb. English 'hear', 'hear-d'; Swedish 'horen', 'hor-de'; Dutch 'hooren', 'hoor-de'; German 'horen', 'hor-te', and so on. (3) These languages all possess groups of so-called strong verbs, which form their past participles by series of changes in the vowels of the 'root': English 'sing, sang, sung'; Danish 'synge, sang, sunget'; Dutch 'zingen, zong, ge-zongen'; German 'singen, sang, ge-sungen', etc.

Now agreement between languages, which includes sounds, vocabulary, inflexion, and such deep-rooted features as vowel change within the 'root' itself, cannot be mere coincidence. Neither, when we find such common features equally among widely-separated groups of speakers, such as the Germans, Swedes, Danes, and English men, can the agreement be the result of wholesale borrowing; for in this case it would naturally be

asked, from whom have all these languages borrowed their characteristics features? Again, there is no reason for assuming that any one of these languages is the surveying ancestor of all the others.

There remains only the possibility that English, Dutch, the Scandinavian languages, and German, are each and all the descendants of the same original language; that they represent, in fact, the various forms into which a parent language, which no longer exists, has been differentiated, by virtue of such factors of isolation as those we have already discussed. This extinct form of speech, out of which we assume all these languages to have developed, along more or less different lines, we call Primitive Germanic, Parent Germanic, or simple Germanic. If we wished to compare the Germanic languages systematically, we should take the oldest forms of each, which are preserved in writing. The above examples are drawn from the modern languages, partly because these are, on the whole, more familiar and accessible to the general student, partly also to show how close the resemblance still is, ever after all these centuries of separation. The oldest considerable body of ancient Germanic speech is the 4th-century translation of part of the Bible in Gothic, a language long extinct.

Chapter Ⅱ History of English

第二章 英语的历史

1. Landmarks in the History of English

第一节 英语发展中的重要事件

导读：

公元5世纪前，不列颠岛上居住着受罗马人统治的凯尔特人，他们讲的凯尔特语是在不列颠岛上所能发现的惟一具有史料依据的最早的语言。从公元43年至公元410年为罗马征服时代。随着罗马的军事占领，拉丁语在不列颠岛得到了传播。拉丁语成了官方用语、法律用语、商业用语；拉丁语甚至还成了上层凯尔特人的第二语言。后来在公元5世纪，朱特人、盎格鲁人、撒克逊人来到了不列颠，当时所形成的古英语吸收了部分的凯尔特语词汇和大量的拉丁语词汇。公元9世纪时，斯堪的纳维亚人入侵英格兰。在丹麦人侵占英国期间，斯堪的纳维亚语与古英语同时在许多地区使用，使得古英语中的许多词汇，在词形上和相近的斯堪的纳维亚语的同义词合二为一。公元11世纪时，诺曼底人征服了英格兰。“诺曼征服”不仅加速了英国社会封建化的进程，而且推动了古英语向中古英语的过渡。在这期间英语曾经沦为一个卑微的民间用语。后来，英语渐渐得到重视，到了14世纪末，

英语发展成为一个有政界地位的语言。英国伟大诗人乔叟（1340 ~ 1400）是第一个使用英语进行文学创作的诗人。到了 16 世纪，印刷术推动英语书写统一化。16、17 世纪的“文艺复兴”运动，使得早期现代英语比中古英语更具有“可塑性”。大胆创新、勇于探索地运用语言的现象，充分地体现在莎士比亚的文学作品中。从 16 世纪开始至今，英语词典得到了从无到繁的兴盛发展。18 世纪的工业革命以及 20 世纪的科学技术的发展带来了英国社会翻天覆地的变化，并促使英语得到了更广泛的运用。

Five Ages Of English

(1)Pre-English Period (– c.450)

The regions of English are, for a language, surprisingly well documented. At the time of the Roman invasion c.55 BC, the indigenous languages of Britain were Celtic, of which there were two main branches (corresponding to modern Gaelic and Welsh). The Romans made Latin an official language of culture and government, probably resulting in many communities in Britain becoming bilingual Celtic-Latin. Garrisons of troops then arrived from elsewhere in the Roman Empire, particularly Gaul, one of Celtic areas. In Some points, the English language has repeated this early history of Latin: it was brought into many countries between the 17th and 19th centuries as the language of a colonial power and made the language of administration, spoken by a social elite, but not used by the majority of the population. It served, moreover, as an international lingua franca amongst the elites of many countries. But the use of Latin rapidly declined in the 17th and 18th centuries.

(2)Old English (c.450 – c.1100)

The English language developed after the Anglo – Saxon invasion c. 449 AD, when the Romans left Britain and new settlers brought Germanic dialects from mainland Europe. Latin was still an important written lan-

guage because of the Church and many Latin words were introduced into Old English during this early period. The invasion and settlement from Scandinavian languages occurred, which changed the language. In the north of England dialects of English were extensively influenced by Scandinavian languages. In the south, King Alfred, concerned about falling educational standards, arranged for many Latin texts to be translated into English.

(3) Middle English (c.1100 – c.1500)

The Norman Conquest (1066) and rule brought about many linguistic changes. French, now the official language in England, affected English vocabulary and spelling. The grammar of English was also radically transformed. Whereas Old English expressed grammatical relations through inflections (word endings), Middle English lost many inflections and used word order to mark the grammatical function of nouns. Educated people probably needed to be trilingual in French, Latin and English. It was a flourishing period for English literature. Writers included Geoffrey Chaucer, whose language is becoming to look like modern English.

(4) Early Modern English (c.1500 – c.1750)

This period spans the Renaissance, the Elizabethan era and Shakespeare. It is the period when the nation states of Europe took their modern form. The role of the Church and Latin declined. In England, key institutions of science, such as the Royal Society, were established and, by the end of the 17th century, theoreticians like Isaac Newton were writing their discoveries in English rather than Latin. Britain grew commercially and acquired overseas colonies. English was taken to the Americas (first colony at Jamestown, Virginia 1607) and India (first trading post at Surat 1614). With the rise of printing (first printed book in English 1473) English acquired a stable typographic identity. Teaching English as a foreign language began in the 16th century, first in Holland and

France.

(5) Modern English (c.1750 –)

English had become a national language. Many attempts were made to 'standardize and fix' the language with dictionaries and grammars (Johnson's Dictionary 1755, the Oxford English Dictionary 1858 – 1928). The industrial revolution triggered off a global restructuring of work and leisure, which made English the international language of advertising and consumerism. The telegraph was patented in 1837, linking English-speaking communities around the world and establishing English as the major language for wire services. As Britain consolidated imperial power, English medium education was introduced in many parts of the world. The international use of French declined, the first international series of English language-teaching texts was published from Britain in 1938 and the world's first TV commercial was broadcast in the US in 1941. English emerged as the most popular working language for transnational institutions.

With Britain's retreat from the empire, local and partially standardized varieties of English have emerged in newly independent countries. After World War II the US became a global economic and cultural presence, making American English the dominant world variety. The first communications satellites were launched (Early Bird 1965) and the Internet was invented (US 1970s). A world market in audio-visual products was created. Worldwide English language TV channels began (CNN International launched 1989).

Division Of The History Of English. The evolution of English in about 1500 years of its existence in England has been an unbroken one. Within this development, however, it is possible to recognize three main periods. Like all divisions in history, the periods of the English language are matters of convenience and dividing lines between them

purely arbitrary. There is no break in the process of continuous transition. But within each of the period it is possible to recognize certain broad characteristics and certain special developments that take place. To divide thė history of any language into 'periods' historically must, then, be only a somewhat artificial rough-and-ready expedient. Yet, such a division is only approximate. The period from 450 to 1150 is known as Old English. It is sometimes described as the period of full inflexions, since during most of this period the endings of the noun, the adjective, and the verb are preserved more or less unimpaired. From 1150 to 1500 the language is known as Middle English. During this period the inflexions, which had begun to break down towards the end of the Old English period, become greatly reduced, and it is consequently known as the period of leveled inflexions. The language since 1500 is called Modern English. By the time we reach this stage in the development a large part of the original inflectional system has disappeared entirely and we therefore speak of it as the period of lost inflexions.

Romanization Of Britain. Language is a natural human growth, partly mental and partly physical. It follows, therefore, that it never ceases to change, but it is a continuing development in a constant state of flux. In history of England some important events greatly influenced the development of the English language. Before we study the history of English, it is necessary for us to know something about these historical events, which made language change in various aspects. Romanization lasted from AD 43 to AD 410. Before the Roman Conquest, the Celts lived on the island. Celtic was the language to be mainly spoken in Britain. The Roman occupation was never a total one for two reasons. First, some parts of the country resisted. Secondly, Roman troops were often withdrawn from Britain to fight in other parts of the Roman Empire.

Germanic Conquest. About the year 449 an event occurred

which profoundly affected the course of history. In that year, as commonly stated, began the invasion of Britain by certain Germanic tribes, the founders of the English nation. For more than a hundred years conquerors and settlers migrated from their continental homes in the region of Denmark and the Low Countries and established themselves in the south and east of the island, gradually extending the area, which they occupied until it included all but the highlands in the west and north. The events of these years are wrapped in much obscurity. While we can form a general idea of their course, we are still in doubt about some of the tribes that took part in the movement, their exact location on the continent, and the dates of their respective migrations.

The traditional account of the Germanic invasions goes back to Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, completed in 731, tells us that the Germanic tribes, which conquered England, were the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles. From what he says and from other indications, it seems altogether most likely that the Jutes and the Angles had their home in the Danish peninsula, the Jutes in the northern half and the Angles in the south and perhaps a small area at the base. The Saxons were settled to the south and west of the Angles, roughly between the Elbe and the Ems, possibly as far as the Rhine. A fourth tribe, the Frisians, some of whom almost certainly came to England, occupied a narrow strip along the coast from the Weser to the Rhine together with the islands opposite. But by the time of the invasions the Jutes had apparently moved down to the coastal area near the mouth of the Weser, and possibly also round the Zuyder Zee and the lower Rhine, thus being in contact with both the Frisians and Saxons.

Anglo-Saxon Civilization. It is difficult to speak with certainty about the relations of the newcomers and the native population. In some districts where the inhabitants were few, the Anglo-Saxons probably

settled down besides the Celts in more or less peaceful contact. In others, as in the West Saxon territory, the invaders met with stubborn resistance and succeeded in establishing themselves only after much fighting. Many of the Celts undoubtedly were driven into the west and sought refuge in Wales and Cornwall. In any case such civilization as had been attained under Roman influence was largely destroyed. The Roman towns were burnt and abandoned. Town life did not attract a population used to life in the open and finding its occupation in hunting and agriculture. The organization of society was by families and clans with a sharp distinction between eorls, a kind of hereditary aristocracy, and the ceorls or simple freemen. The business of the community was transacted in local assemblies or moots, and justice was administered through a series of fines, which varied according to the nature of the crime and the rank of the injured party. Guilt was generally determined by ordeal or by compurgation. In time various tribes combined either for greater strength or, under the influence of a powerful leader, to produce small kingdoms. Seven of these are eventually recognized, Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex, and spoken of as the Anglo-Saxon Heptarch. But the grouping was not very permanent, sometimes two or more being united under one king, at other times kingdoms being divided under separate rulers. In the early part of the 7th century Northumbria gained political supremacy over a number of the other kingdoms and held an undoubted leadership in literature and learning as well. In the 8th century this leadership in literature passed to Mercia. In the 9th century, Wessex under the guidance of Egbert began to extend its influence until in 830 all England, including the chieftains of Wales, acknowledged Egbert's lordship. The result can hardly be called a united nation, but West Saxon kings were able to maintain their claim to be kings of all the English, and under Alfred Wessex attained a high degree of prosperity and considerable

enlightenment.

***Scandinavian Invasions*.** In the 9th century England suffered from the Scandinavian invasions. In the Scandinavian attacks three stages can be distinguished. The first is the period of early raids beginning in 787 until about 850. These raids of this period were simply plundering attacks upon towns and monasteries near the coast. The second stage is the work of large armies and is marked by widespread plundering in all parts of the country and by extensive settlements in 850 till 878. The third stage of the Scandinavian incursions covers the period of political adjustment and assimilation from 878 to 1042. The events had an important consequence, the settlement of large numbers of Scandinavians in England. The presence of a large Scandinavian element in the population is indicated not merely by place names but also by peculiarities of manorial organization, local government, legal procedure, and the like. The amalgamation of the two peoples was greatly facilitated by the close kinship that existed between them. The problem of the English was not the assimilation of an alien people representing an alien culture and speaking a wholly foreign tongue. The policy of the English kings in the period when they were reestablishing their control over the Danelaw was to accept as an established fact the mixed population of the district. In this effort they were aided by the natural adaptability of the Scandinavian.

***Relation Of The Two Languages*.** The relation between the two languages Old English and the Scandinavian in the district settled by the Danes is a matter of inference rather than exact knowledge. Doubtless the situation was similar to that observable in numerous parts of the world today where people speaking different languages are found living side by side in the same region. While in some places the Scandinavians gave up their language early there were certainly communities in which Danish or Norse remained for some time the usual language. Up until the time of the

Norman Conquest, the Scandinavian language in England was constantly being renewed by the steady stream of trade and conquest. In some parts of Scotland, Norse was still spoken as late as the 17th century. In other district in which the prevailing speech was English there were doubtless many of the newcomers who continued to speak their own language at least as late as 1100 and a considerable number who were to a greater or lesser degree bilingual. The last-named circumstance is rendered more likely by the frequent intermarriage between the two peoples and by the similarity between the two tongues. The Anglian dialect resembled the language of the Norsemen in a number of particulars in which West Saxon showed divergence. The two may even have been mutually intelligible to a limited extent. Contemporary statements on the subject are conflicting, and it is difficult to arrive at a conviction. But wherever the truth lies in this debatable question, there can be no doubt that the basis existed for an extensive interaction of the two languages upon each other, and this conclusion is amply borne out by the large number of Scandinavian elements subsequently found in English.

***Norman Conquest*.** Towards the close of the Old English period an event occurred, which had a greater effect on the English language than any other in the course of its history. This event was the Norman Conquest in 1066. William, Duke of Normandy, came to Britain and conquered it. On Christmas Day in the same year, William was crowned King of England in Westminster Abbey. It is obvious that the Norman Conquest opened the gateways of England to new influences from Europe. The leading members of the church and state were now Normans; many held their Norman estates; and most of them were in frequent touch with the Continent from France to Rome. New avenues of Anglo-Continental trade were opened up, although the flow of goods was in fact small. The Norman Conquest is perhaps the best-known event in English history.

William the Conqueror confiscated almost the weak Saxon rule with a strong Norman government. So the feudal system was completely established in England. Relations with the Continent were closely connected, and civilization and commerce were extended. Norman-French culture, language, manners, and architecture were introduced. The Church was brought into closer relations with Rome, and the church courts were separated from the civil courts.

***Use Of French*.** Whatever the actual number of Normans settled in England, it is clear that the members of the new ruling class were sufficiently predominant to continue to use their own language. This was natural enough at first, since they knew no English; but they continued to do so for a long time to come, picking up some knowledge of English gradually, but making no effort to do so as a matter of policy. For two hundred years after the Norman Conquest, French remained the language of ordinary intercourse among the upper classes in England. At first those who spoke French were those of Norman origin. For nearly 150 years the Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon (Old English) ran side by side without mingling; French being the language of the government and the aristocracy, while English was reduced almost to the condition of a peasant's dialect.

After the Norman Conquest, French became the language of the court, the law, and the government. Educated men spoke and wrote both French and Latin. Exiled from hall, court, and cloister, English remained almost entirely a spoken tongue of about three centuries. Anglo-Saxon, as a submerged peasant's jargon, slowly lost its clumsy inflexions, its seven strong and two weak verbs, its elaborate genders; there were no grammarians to protest. The English tongue gained the suppleness and grace that are among its chief merits today. At the same time it was enriched by French words and ideas, particularly those that had to do

with hunting, cooking, art, religion, politics, justice, war... Most writers in the Norman age used Latin. Songs and tales in Norman French had little influence upon authors in England until the late 12th century. Now when we look back, we can imagine what the language would have been like if William the conqueror had not succeeded in making good his claim to the English throne can only be a matter of conjecture. It would probably have pursued much the same course as the other Germanic languages, retaining perhaps more of its inflexions and preserving a preponderantly Germanic vocabulary, adding to its word-stock by the characteristic methods of word-formation already explained, and incorporating words from other languages much less freely. In particular it would have lacked the greater part of that enormous number of French words, which today make English seem, on the other side of vocabulary, almost as much a Romance as a Germanic language. The Norman Conquest changed the whole course of the English language. An event of such far-reaching consequences must be considered in some detail.

Attitude Toward English. There is no reason to think that the preference, which the governing class in England in Norman time showed for French, was anything more than a natural result of circumstances. The idea that the newcomers were actively hostile to the English language is without foundation. It is true that English was now an uncultivated tongue, the language of a socially inferior class. It is unreasonable to expect a conquered people to feel no resentment or the Norman never to be haughty or overbearing. But there is also plenty of evidence of mutual respect and peaceful cooperation between the Normans and the English from the beginning. The chronicler Orderic Vitalis, himself the son of a Norman father and an English mother, in spite of the fact that he spent his life from the age of ten in Normandy, always refers to himself as an Englishman. And William the Conqueror made an effort to learn English

at the age of 43 so that he might understand and render justice in the disputes between his subjects, but his energies were completely absorbed by his many other activities, and he made not much progress in English. Generally people did not cultivate English because their activities in England did not necessitate it and their constant concern with continental affairs made French for them much more useful. Outside the upper class, English was largely social. The language of the masses remained English. Although French, Latin and English were used in England, English was quite inferior to the other two in the social status.

Re-establishment Of English. After 1200, conditions changed. First, England lost an important part of her possessions abroad. For example, England had to give up the control of Normandy in 1204. The loss of Normandy forced King and nobles to look upon England as their first concern. Second, in the 13th century, England suffered from a fresh invasion of foreigners, this time mostly from the south of France. The effect of the foreign incursions was undoubtedly to delay somewhat the natural spread of the use of English by the upper class, which had begun. But it was also to arouse such widespread hostility to foreigners as greatly to stimulate the consciousness of the difference between those who for a generation or several generations has so participated in English affairs as to consider themselves Englishmen, and to cause them to unite against the newcomers who flocked to England.

The 13th century must be viewed as a period of shifting emphasis upon the two languages spoken in England. The upper class continued for the most part to speak French, as they had done in the previous century, but the reason for doing so were not the same. Instead of being a mother tongue inherited from Norman ancestors, French became a cultivated tongue supported by social custom and by business and administrative convention. Meanwhile English made steady advances. By the middle of

the century when the separation of the English nobles from their interests in France had been about completed, English was becoming a matter of general use among the upper class. It is at this time, as we shall see that the adoption of French words into the English language assumes large proportions. There is evidence that by the close of the century some children of the nobility spoke English as their mother tongue and had to be taught French through the medium of manuals equipped with English glosses. Another factor against the continued use of French in England was the circumstance that Anglo-French was not 'good' French.

Then in the course of the 14th century, the French language was losing its hold on England. In this century the Hundred Years' War broke out between England and France (1337 – 1453). The feeling that remained in the minds of most people was one of hatred, coupled with a sense of the inevitability of renewed hostilities. During this time it was impossible to forget that French was the language of an enemy country, so the Hundred Years' War is probably to be reckoned as one of the causes contributing to the disuse of French.

Such changes in the social and economic life benefited particularly the English-speaking part of the population, and enable us better to understand the re-establishment of English in the 14th century.

***General Adoption Of English In The* 14*th Century*.** At the beginning of the 14th century English was once more known by everyone, and the people who could speak French were bilingual. Even the King Edward III knew English. Outside the royal family it would seem that among the governing class English was the language best understood. In 1362, an important step was taken toward restoring English to its rightful place as the language of the country. That can be regarded as the official recognition of English. After 1349, English began to be used in schools and by 1385 the practice had become general. In literature the

period from 1350 – 1400 has been called the Period of Great Individual Writers. The chief name is that of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340 – 1400), the greatest English poet before Shakespeare. Chaucer's English work vividly reflected the changes, which had taken root in English culture of the second half of the 14th century.

By the end of the 14th century the English language had absorbed into itself the greater part of vocabulary of medieval learning, and had been formed into a standard and literary form of speech for the whole nation.

Caxton's Printing. The pace of English language history quickens after William Caxton introducing the technology of printing into England in 1476. Caxton, the first English printer, used the current speech of London in his numerous translations and the books issued from his press and from the presses of his successors. It gave a currency to London English that assured more than anything else its rapid adoption. In the 16th century the use of London English had become a matter of precept as well as practice. The distinction between what was standard and what was non-standard became more clear-cut. (Within 100 years, there was remarkable uniformity in the appearance of printed texts, though some matters of spelling and pronunciation, such as the use of the apostrophe, were not finally settled until the 17th century). Apart from the role of his printing in helping to develop a standard form of English spelling and pronunciation, the new invention provided more opportunities for people to write, and gave their words much wider circulation. As a result, more texts of the period have survived. Within the following 150 years, nearly 20,000 English books appeared. The story of English thus becomes more definite in the 16th century, with more evidence available about the way the language was developing, both in the texts themselves, and in a growing number of observations dealing with the grammar, vo-

cabulary, and writing system. In the early modern English period, scholars got down to talking about the English Language.

The printing of books brought about a revolution of communications. A book might be bought and read anywhere in the country — which dialect of English should a printer use? This is just one of the problems which had to be overcome in the establishment of an agreed standard literary form of English over the next two hundred years.

***Influence Of Shakespeare*.** Shakespeare is regarded as a maker of English'. He was immensely interested in the English language. He constantly criticized or satirized linguistic and stylistic fashions among his contemporaries, while himself experimenting with all kinds of innovations, dialectal adaptations and archaisms. As an experimenter with the dramatic use of dialect, Shakespeare was remarkable and in so doing he made some permanent contributions to the English language. That Shakespeare was very language-conscious is evidenced almost everywhere in his plays and poems. Some of Shakespeare's phrases have remained in currency among those who are innocent of any language of the playwright, and are found even in accepted parlance with a meaning other than that which Shakespeare had intended.

Elizabethan English was characterized by a most marked increase of flexibility in its grammatical usages, as men came to feel that the freedom of the individual suggested by the Renaissance had its expression in the use of language. New collections of words in which nouns or adjectives might perform the functions of verbs, came into use; so that some people have been led into thinking that Elizabethan, and therefore Shakespeare English, had no 'grammar' at all. This is an exaggeration and a misunderstanding; but it is true that the Elizabethans often seem to be able to interchange the functions of noun, adjective and verb in a way, which seems logical rather than grammatical in forms where the loss of inflexions

has removed the morphological difference. Shakespeare used this flexibility to the full. As he was the first great writer of the widest interest and influence after the loss of the English inflexions, it may be that his practice has had its effect in encouraging the extraordinary flexibility of Modern English grammar, as distinct from the relative fixity of its word order.

***Development Of Dictionaries*.** In the ancient classical world and in the Middle Ages there were often made collections of 'hard words' and foreign words with their meanings. These are termed 'glossaries', or collections of glosses (a 'gloss', from Latin of the Greek 'glossa', meaning rare word needing special explanation, is a translation or explanation of a word). Until the Renaissance such glossaries were only selected groups of explanations and in no sense aimed at the completeness we associate with a dictionary. The Renaissance brought the need for Latin and Greek dictionaries. So in the 16th century crude and incomplete dictionaries began to appear, for example, Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicaae* of 1565, in which a number of difficult or obsolete words are treated. In 1604 Robert Cawdrey produced a slim volume entitled *A Table of Alphbetical English Words*. In 1658 Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew and pupil, published his *New World of English Words*, which contains interpretations of all the words derived from foreign languages. The first stage dealt with glossary and the second stage concerns with 'hard words' or those of foreign derivation.

The next step was the addition of etymologies to the meanings of words: for to know the history of the word before it entered the language is of value for the understanding of its exact shade of meaning. In 1667 Stephen Skinner put forward *Etymologican Linguae Anglicanae*, and 1677 the Dutch scholar Francis Junius published his *Etymologican Anglicanum*. These two were pioneers in providing etymological dictionaries for English, though both wrote in the then usual Latin. All the foregoing

were but preliminary stages; the first dictionary in anything like the proper sense of the word appeared in 1708. This was John Kersey's *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* or *A General English Dictionary*. This embodies a fourth development, namely the attempt to set out the whole of the literary language. In 1730 a much more scholarly work, Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* or *A More Complete Universal English Dictionary*, which included all the advances hitherto, was made in the science of lexicography or dictionary-making, but with greater fullness.

But the greatest landmark in the development of lexicography was Dr. Sam. Johnson's *The Dictionary of the English Language* completed in 1755. For this employed much more fully and effectively the method of illustrating by quotations which Bailey had only occasionally used. Moreover its definitions, despite some humorous or individual vagaries, were the first to be really clear, scholarly and effective. At once it became the standard work, for long the arbiter of English usage and the standard for English spelling. All good dictionaries have benefited by its pioneering steps; and it set the model for the next hundred years, and also first set up the habit, which has now become universal, of treating a dictionary as a final and uncontestable authority. This habit is not altogether good, since dictionaries are always inevitably changing nature of language.

In 1836 Charles Richardson's *A New Dictionary of the English Language* widened the scope of his illustrative quotations and first indicated a sixth development in lexicography, namely the inclusion of quotations to show the historical uses of words. In 1928, as the result of seventy years of work and fifty years of actual carrying out of an established plan, there appeared the final volume of *The Philological Society's A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* published by the Clarendon Press of Oxford. This, the work of a number of editors and thousands of helpers all over the world, is the greatest scientific achievement in lexicography so

far completed. It adds to the foregoing developments, the complete setting forth of the whole history and semantic development of every word used since the 12th century. This it does by means of a series of definitions for each word, with a past history of its several different meanings, which show its exact development; and these are each illustrated chronologically by appropriate quotations from various periods. In addition, every known spelling the word may have had at any time in its history is recorded, together with a full indication of the current British pronunciation in a phonetic script. It is thus, for the scholar, the most complete record of the whole of the English language, with all the material the student could want for the study of any and every aspect of its history. It occupies ten large volumes or twenty half-volumes: but for ordinary working purposes its material is summarized in two volumes in *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, and still further reduced and adapted to speedier consultation in *The Oxford Concise English Dictionary*.

In America, Noah Webster was the pioneer with his *Compendious English Dictionary* of 1806, which follows well on the great work of Johnson: and in 1828 was published his *An American Dictionary of the English Language* in two volumes, which was the foundation of the great *Webster's International Dictionary*, which is the universal working tool in America after successive revisions. *The Century Dictionary* (1889 – 1891) is the great American example of a scholarly compendious English dictionary, in six volumes, which is largely an encyclopedia as well. *A Dictionary of American English*, on the same lines but reduced somewhat as *The New English Dictionary*, embodying all of the English language that is recorded in America from the days of the earlier settlements treated historically, has lately been published.

British Expansion. For a time the Industrial Revolution enabled British to race far ahead of all the other countries. Britain became

the world workshop and London became the financial center of the world trade. In a sense, foreign plunder, expansion and aggression were the cause and effect of the Industrial Revolution, which enabled the British bourgeoisie to establish the largest empire in history. The British Empire occupied about 33 million square kilometers, taking up one fifth of the world's total dry land. This area was about 135 times as large as Great Britain. It ruled over a population of 560 million, which was more than ten times as large as that in Britain. The British powerful fleet controlled the main sea routes and the strategic spots along them. The foundation of the empire was already laid in Queen Elizabeth's time, and the empire came into being during the Industrial Revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries.

2. Old English

第二节 古英语

导读：

公元5世纪至1150年期间的英语被称为古英语。早在449年一些居住在欧洲的部分部族征服了不列颠岛，这些部族主要是盎格鲁人、撒克逊人和朱特人。因此，古英语也称为“盎格鲁-撒克逊语”。古英语属于综合性语言，现代英语属于分析性语言。古英语的拼写和读音与现代英语有很大差异。在今天看来，古英语如同一门外国语，人们必须对古英语进行专门的研究学习，才能读懂古英语。古英语的语法特点与现代德语相近，具有明显的屈折形式，名词、形容词、动词、代词等均有复杂的词尾变化，古英语时代是词尾屈折的全盛时期。由于古英语具有较强的屈折形式的特点，古英语的句子语义像拉丁语一样，不完全依赖于词序。古英语有四种主要方言。在文学方面，最完整的早期古英语

文学代表作当属《贝尔吾甫》（*Beowulf*）。在古英语存在的六七百年间，凯尔特语、拉丁语和斯堪的纳维亚语对古英语产生过不同程度的影响。

***Romanization Of Britain Before English*.** Before the Roman Conquest, the Celts lived on the island. Celtic was the language to be mainly spoken in Britain. It was in A.D. 43 that the Emperor Claudius decided to undertake the actual conquest of Britain. With the knowledge of Caesar's experience behind him, he did not underestimate the difficulty of the task. Accordingly an army of 40,000 men was sent to Britain. In A.D. 55, the Romans accomplished their military conquest. Then the Romanization of the province followed the military conquest. Where the Romans lived and ruled, there Roman ways were found. Four great highways soon spread fanlike from London to the north, the northwest, the west, and the southwest, while a fifth cut across the island from London to the Severn. Numerous lesser roads connected important military or civil centers or branched off as spurs from the main highways. A score of small cities and towns, with their Roman houses and baths, temples and occasional theaters, testify to the introduction of Roman habits of life. The houses were equipped with heating apparatus and water supply, and their floors were paved in mosaic. Roman dress, Roman ornaments and utensils, and Roman pottery and glassware seem to have been in general use. By the 3rd century Christianity had made some progress in the island, and in 314, bishop from London and York attended a church council in Gaul. Under the relatively peaceful conditions that existed everywhere except along the frontiers, where the hostile penetration of the unconquered natives was always to be feared, there is every reason to think that Romanization had proceeded very much as it had done in the other provinces of the empire. The difference is that in Britain the process was

cut short in the 5th century.

Latin Language In Britain. Among the other evidences of Romanization must be included the use of the Latin language. A great number of inscriptions have been found, all of them in Latin. The most of these inscriptions proceed no doubt from the military and official class and, being in the nature of public records, were therefore in the official language. They indicate a widespread use of Latin by the native population. Latin did not replace the Celtic language in Britain as it did in Gaul. Its use by native Britons was probably confined to members of the upper classes and the inhabitants of the cities and towns. Occasional graffiti scratched on a tile or a piece of pottery, apparently by the workman who made it, suggest that in some localities Latin was familiar to the artisan class. Outside the cities there were many fine country houses, some of which were probably occupied by well-to-do natives. The occupation of these also probably spoke Latin. The Britons who had showed only hostility to the language of their conquerors before, now became eager to speak it. On the whole, there were certainly many people in Roman Britain who habitually spoke Latin or upon occasion could use it. But its use was not sufficiently widespread to cause it to survive, as the Celtic language survived. Its use probably began to decline after 410, the approximate date at which the last of the Roman troops were officially withdrawn from the island. The few traces that it has left in the language of the Germanic invaders and that can still be seen in the English language today will occupy us later.

Languages Before Old English. When Anglo-Saxon ancestors came first to ravage Britain, and finally to settle there, they found the island inhabited by Celts, a people weaker, indeed, but infinitely more civilized than themselves. The Celts spoke Celtic, the first Indo-European tongue to be spoken in England. One other language, Latin, was spoken

rather extensively for several centuries before the coming of English. Latin was introduced when Britain became a province of the Roman Empire. For several centuries the Celts in England had enjoyed the benefits of Roman government, and shared in the civilization of the Roman Empire; they lived in walled cities, worshipped in Christian churches, and spoke the Latin language to a certain extent. It is possible, if this Teutonic invasion hand never happened, that the inhabitants of England would be now speaking a language descended from Latin, like French or Spanish or Italian. It is true that English has become almost a half-sister or these 'Romance languages', as they are called, and a large part of its vocabulary is derived from Latin sources; but this is not in any way due to the Roman conquest of Britain, but to later causes. In whatever parts of Britain the Teutonic tribes a purely Germanic race, a group of related tribes, spoke dialects of what was substantially the same language, the parent of the present English. This is called Anglo-Saxon or Old English, belonging to the great Teutonic family of speech, Germanic language family.

Names 'England' And 'English'. The Celts called their Germanic conquerors Saxons indiscriminately probably because they had had their first contact with the Teutons through the Saxon raids on the coast. Early Latin writers, following Celtic usage, generally call the Teutons in England Saxones and the land Saxonia. But soon the terms Angli and Anglia occur beside Saxones and refer not to the Angles individually but to the Teutons generally. Angli and Anglia became the usual terms in Latin texts. From the beginning, however, writers in the vernacular never call their language anything but Englisc (English). The word is derived from the name of the Angles (O. E. Engle) but is used without distinction for the language of all the invading tribes. In like manner the land and its people are early called Angelcynn (Angles — kin or race of the Angles), and this is the common name until after the Danish period.

From about the year 1000 Englaland (land of the Angles) begins to take its place. The name English is thus older than the name England. It is not easy to say why English should have taken its name from the Angles. Probably a desire to avoid confusion with the Saxons who remained on the continent and the early supremacy of the Anglian kingdoms were the predominant factors in determining usage.

Anglo-Saxon Or Old English. When we look at the first years of the English language, the most immediate question is what to call it. Should we talk about 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Old English'? The answer is that both are widely used. If we want to stress the continuity, the points of similarity between the modern and other periods of the language, we will use the first term. If we want to stress the contrast between Anglo-Saxon and present-day culture, and the linguistic differences, we will use the second.

There is an account in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* reporting the invasion of Britain in A.D. 449 by warlike tribes from North-west Europe — the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who lived in the regions now known as the Netherlands, Germany, and Demark. Bede's account was written in Latin in about A.D. 731. The invaders were first called 'Saxons', but Latin writers began to refer them as 'Angles' (Angli), regardless of which tribe they belonged to. Until around A.D. 1000, the nation was called Angelcynn (nation of the Angles), and then Englaland (land of the Angles). The language was always referred to as Englisc (the sc spelling was used for the sound sh), and this has led to the modern name. During those early centuries, the name 'Anglo-Saxon' did not exist. This label began to be used after Renaissance, when it referred to all aspects of the period — people, culture, and language. The term Anglo-Saxon was never used of the language till the late 17th century, and even then only in its Latin form, since the first grammars were

written in Latin. But as a name for the Germanic early inhabitants of England, writers of the 9th century using Latin had been known to use Anglo-Saxons to distinguish the English Saxons from their kinsmen who had remained on the German mainland. The term is also found at least once before the Norman Conquest in the vernacular. King Alfred, who first interested himself in English culture, called the general language of England 'Englise', and its peoples, whether Angles, Saxons or Jutes, Engle (Angles). The expression 'Old English' is found in a prose work of the earliest 13th century. It is still the usual way of talking about the cultural history, but since the 19th century, when the history of languages came to be studied in detail by most scholars, 'Old English' has been preferred for the name of the language. This name emphasizes the continuing development of the language from Anglo-Saxon times through 'Middle English' to the present day. However, both terms have their drawbacks from the point of view of strict accuracy.

It will be seen, therefore, that 'Old English' has apparent advantages over 'Anglo-Saxon' as the name of the language, though the latter is historically partly justified as the name of the peoples. This case is strengthened if we wish to think of the whole history of the language as a continuity: it is usual to speak of Old English (from the earliest writings till about 1100), Middle English (from about 1100 till the end of Middle Ages), and Modern English from then onwards. On the other hand, as will be seen later, the dialect in which nearly all the important literature of the Anglo-Saxons is written is largely that of the South and South-West: whereas Modern literary English is much more derived from a midland type belonging to the East of the country mixed with a good deal of earlier South-Eastern. The idea of a clear continuity, therefore, in our literary monuments, as regards dialect, which the term Old English suggests, is somewhat illusory. The term Anglo-Saxon, besides having a

considerable tradition behind it since the eighteenth century, may be thought to have the advantage of squarely facing the fact that the language of King Alfred is not the direct, but there is nothing to be said for the growing habit among journalists and political writers of using the term Anglo-Saxon as if it were the same as 'English-speaking'. It should be confined to the Germanic inhabitants of Britain before the Norman Conquest and to their language.

English, being humble and obscure in its origin beginning with Anglo-Saxon or Old English, has developed many qualities of sound and syntax which differentiate it both from the original Common Germanic and from all the other Germanic tongues, and naturally Old English is distinguished by a number of special sound-changes which separate it in varying degrees from the other related Low German languages. But since our main object is to present a picture only in broad outline and to emphasize in little space only those aspects of English which have contributed permanently to the building of its special character, the details of Old English must be passed over there.

***Characteristics Of Old English*.** The English language has undergone such change in the course of time that one cannot read Old English without special study. In fact a page of Old English is likely at first to present a look of greater strangeness than a page of French or Italian because of the employment of certain characters that no longer form a part of our alphabet. Old English can actually be regarded as a homogeneous Anglo-Saxon language, with only a small amount of Latin influence, followed by some from Norse, on the vocabulary of the written language. It is also characterized by having its inflectional system relatively full. In general the differences which one notices between Old and Modern English concern spelling and pronunciation, the vocabulary, and the grammar.

The pronunciation of Old English words commonly differs somewhat from that of their modern equivalents. The long vowels in particular have undergone considerable modification. Some of the first look of strange Old English to the modern reader is due simply to differences of spelling. Old English spelling was a rough attempt at being phonetic, that is to say in pronunciation Old English had no 'silent syllables' or letters represented sounds fairly closely. It should be noted that the differences of spelling and pronunciation that figure so prominently in one's first impression of Old English are really not very fundamental. Word spelling is often apparent rather than the spelling of Modern English, since it represents no difference in the spoken language, and word pronunciation obeys certain laws as a result of which we soon learn to recognize the Old and Modern English equivalents.

A second feature of Old English, which would become quickly apparent to a modern reader is the absence of those words derived from Latin and French, which form so large a part of our present vocabulary. Such words make up more than half of the words now in common use. They are so essential to the expression of our ideas, and they seem so familiar and natural to us. However, we miss many of them in the earlier stage of the language. The vocabulary of Old English is almost purely Germanic, and a large part of this vocabulary has disappeared from the language. When the Norman Conquest brought French into England as the language of the higher classes, much of the Old English vocabulary appropriate to literature and learning died out and was replaced later by words borrowed from French and Latin. An examination of the words in an Old English dictionary shows that about 85% of them are no longer in use. Those that survive, to be sure, are basic elements of our vocabulary, and by the frequency with which they recur make up a large part of any English sentence. Apart from pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs,

and the like, they express fundamental concepts like 'mann' (man), 'wif' (wife), 'cild' (child), 'mete' (meat, food), 'libban' (live) and so on. But the fact remains that a considerable part of the vocabulary of Old English is unfamiliar to the modern reader.

The third and most fundamental feature that distinguishes Old English from the language of today is its grammar. Inflectional languages fall into two classes: synthetic and analytic. A synthetic language is one, which indicates the relation of words in a sentence largely by means of inflections. In the case of the Indo-European languages these most commonly take the form of endings on the noun and pronoun, the adjective and the verb. Thus in Latin the nominative murus (wall) is distinguished from the genitive muri (of the wall). A single verb form like laudaverunt (they have praised) conveys the idea of person, number, and tense along with the meaning of the root, a conception which we require three words for in English. Also in the Latin sentence "Tom interfecit Johnam" means "Tom killed John". It would mean the same thing if the words were arranged in any order, such as "Johnam interfecit Tom", because 'Tom' is the form of the nominative case and the ending -am of 'John' marks the noun as accusative no matter where it stands. Like Latin the word order of Old English, a synthetic language, was relatively free, since its inflexions prevented ambiguity. In present-day English word order is relatively fixed. The reason why the order in Old English could vary so much is that the relationships between the parts of the sentence were signaled by other means. Old English was an inflected language: the job a word did in the sentence was signaled by the kind of ending it had. Today, most of these inflexions have died away. From the point of view of grammar, Old English resembles modern German. That is to say, Old English was much more highly inflected than Modern English is. Theoretically the noun and adjective are inflected for four cases in the singular and four in the plural

(nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative), although the forms are not always distinctive, and in addition the adjective has separate forms for each of the three genders. The inflexion of the verb is less elaborate than that of the Latin verb, but there are distinctive endings for the different persons, numbers, tenses, and moods. Although the word order is much more than it would be in present-day English, there are several places where it is strikingly similar. Adjectives usually go before their noun, as do prepositions, articles and similar words (the, this, etc.), just as they do today. Sometimes, whole sentences are identical in the order of words — or nearly so. For example, Old English: Hwæt sceal ic singan? Present-day English: What shall I sing? In present-day English word order is relatively fixed.

One more language characteristic is worth mentioning here. Many prefixes and suffixes in Old English prove the strong inflexion of words. A part of the flexibility of the Old English vocabulary comes from the generous use made of prefixes and suffixes to form new words from old words or to modify or extend the root idea. In this respect it also resembles modern German. In Old English there were noun suffixes and adjective suffixes. Apart from suffixes, the use of prefixes was a fertile resource in word building. It is particularly a feature in the formation of verbs. There are about a dozen prefixes that occur with great frequency. With the help of prefixes, Old English could make many words out of a simple verb. No one can long remain in doubt about the rich and colorful character of the Old English vocabulary. Even today there are many prefixes and suffixes in present-day English.

***Dialects Of Old English*.** Old English was not an entirely uniform language. Not only are there differences between the language of the earliest written records (about A.D. 700) and that of the later literary texts, but also the language differed somewhat from one locality to an-

other. We can distinguish four dialects in Old English times: Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon, and Kentish. Of these Northumbrian and Mercian are found in the region north of the Thames settled by the Angles. They possess certain features in common and are sometimes known collectively as Anglian. But Northumbrian, spoken north of the Humber River, and Mercian, between the Humber and the Thames, each possess certain distinctive features as well. Unfortunately we know less about them than we should like since they are preserved mainly in charters, runic inscriptions, a few brief fragments of verse, and some interlinear translations of potions of the Bible. Kentish is known from still scantier remains, as is the dialect of the Jutes and their probable associates in the southeast. The only dialect in which there is an extensive collection of texts is West Saxon, which was the dialect of the West Saxon kingdom in the southwest. Nearly all of Old English literature is preserved in manuscripts transcribed in this region. The dialects probably reflect differences already present in the continental homes of the invaders. There is evidence, however, that some features developed in England after the settlement. With the ascendancy of the West Saxon kingdom, the West Saxon dialect attained something of position of a literary standard, and both for this reason and because of the abundance of the materials it is made the basis of the study of Old English. Such a start as it had made toward becoming the standard speech of England was cut short by the Norman Conquest, which, as we shall see, reduced all dialects to a common level of unimportance. And when in the Middle English period a Standard English once more began to arise, it was on the basis of a different dialect.

It had a number of dialects, but only one of them, the language of King Alfred's Wessex (West Saxon), has the left literary monuments on any large scale. For the history of the century caused this West-Saxon to become by the 10th century the accepted language for most vernacular lit-

erary purposes. Even the literature of other dialects was most of the poetry and was recopied into the 'standard' West-Saxon speech, which with local modifications had become a sort of common literary language all over the country. It is this West-Saxon speech that because there are most materials in it, has become the basis of Old English grammars and dictionaries. But, as has been already remarked, it is unfortunate that there is not a direct continuity between this literary West-Saxon speech and later English, since the direct ancestor of modern literary English was some kind of Midland (Mercian as it is called for the Old English period), with an underlay of South-Eastern. The nearest direct descendants of West-Saxon speech are to be found in such countries as Glouceset, Somerset and Devon, as rural speech only.

Old English Literature. The language of a part time is known by the quality of its literature. It is in literature that a language displays its full power, its ability to convey in vivid and memorable form the thoughts and emotions of a people. The literature of the Anglo-Saxons is fortunately one of the richest and most significant of any preserved among the early Germanic peoples.

Generally speaking this literature is of two sorts. Some of it was undoubtedly brought to England by the Germanic conquerors from their continental homes and preserved for a time in oral tradition. All of it owes its preservation, however, and not a little its inspiration to the introduction of Christianity into the island at the end of the 6th century. Two streams thus mingle in Old English literature, the pagan and the Christian, and they are never quite distinct. The poetry of pagan origin is constantly overlaid with Christian sentiment, while even those poems, which treat of purely Christian themes contain every now and again, traces of an earlier philosophy not wholly forgotten. We can indicate only in the briefest way the scope and content of this literature, and we shall begin with that

which embodied the native traditions of the race.

Old English is the first recorded English literature. The alliterative verse of Caedmon was mentioned in the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in the 8th century. Manuscripts from about A.D. 1000 contain the best-known Old English work, *Beowulf*, a heroic poem written in about 700 to 750. Such poems were originally written to be sung, and the subject matter was generally religious or heroic. In prose there were plain-narrative historical chronicles such as The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. *Beowulf* is the greatest single work of Old English literature. It is a poem of some 3,000 lines belonging to the type known as the folk epic, that is to say, a poem, which, whatever it may owe to the individual poet who gave it final form, embodies material long current among the people. It is a narrative of heroic adventure relating how a young warrior, Beowulf, fought the monster Grendel, which was ravaging the land of King Hrothgar, slew it and its dam, and years later met his death while ridding his own country of an equally destructive foe, a fire-breathing dragon. The theme seems somewhat fanciful to a modern reader, but the character of the hero, the social conditions pictured, and the portrayal of the movies and ideals which animated men in early Germanic times make the poem one of the most vivid records we have of life in the heroic age. It is not an easy life. It is a life that calls for physical endurance, unflinching courage, and a fine sense of duty, loyalty, and honor.

Outside of the *Beowulf* Old English poetry of native tradition is represented by a number of shorter pieces. Anglo-Saxon poets sang of the things that entered most deeply into their experience — of war and of exile, of the sea with its hardships and its fascination, of ruined cities, and of minstrel life.

On the other hand more than half of Anglo-Saxon poetry is concerned with Christian subjects. Translations and paraphrases of books of the Old

and New Testament, legends of saints, and devotional and didactic pieces constitute the bulk of this verse.

In the development of literature, prose generally comes late. Verse is more effective for oral delivery and more easily remained in the memory. It is therefore a rather remarkable fact, and one well worthy of note, that English possessed a considerable body of prose literature in the 9th century, at a time when most other modern languages in Europe had scarcely developed a literature in verse. This unusual accomplishment was due to the inspiration of one man, the Anglo-Saxon king who is justly called Alfred the Great (871 – 899). Alfred's greatness rests not only on his capacity as a military leader and statesman but also on his realization that greatness in a nation is no merely physical thing. When he came to the throne he found that the learning, which in the 8th century in the days of Bede, had placed England in the forefront of Europe, had greatly decayed. In an effort restore England to something like its former state he undertook to provide for his people certain books in English.

Foreign Influences On Old English. In the Old English period in England, Old English was brought into contact with three other languages, Celtic, Latin and Scandinavian. From each of contacts it shows certain effects, especially additions to its vocabulary.

Nothing would seem more reasonable than to expect that the conquest of the Celtic population of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons and the subsequent mixture of the two peoples should have resulted in a corresponding mixture of their languages; that consequently we should find in the Old English vocabulary numerous instances of words which the Anglo-Saxons heard in the speech of the native population and adopted. For it is apparent that the Celts were by no means exterminated except in certain areas, and that, in most of England, the new inhabitants absorbed large numbers of them. When we come, however, to seek the evidence for this contact in

the English language, investigation yield very meager results. Such evidence as there is survives chiefly in place names. For example, 'Devonshire' contains in the first element the tribal name 'Dumnonii', 'Cornwall' means the 'Cornubian Welsh', and 'Cumberland' is the 'land of the Cymry or Britons'. Outside the place names, however, the influence of Celtic upon the English language is almost negligible. Not over a score of words in Old English can be traced with reasonable probability to a Celtic source. Shortly speaking the Anglo-Saxons found little occasion to adopt Celtic modes of expression and the Celtic influence remains the least of the early influences, which affected the English language. On the other hand Old English itself changed greatly and it gave up many words in the processes of the language change.

If the influence of Celtic upon Old English was slight, the influence of Latin upon Old English was great. Latin was not the language of a conquered people. It was the language of a higher civilization, a civilization from which the Anglo-Saxons had much to learn. Contact with that civilization, at first commercial and military, later religious and intellectual, extended over many centuries and was constantly renewed. It began long before the Anglo-Saxons came to England and continued throughout the Old English period. For several hundred years, while the Germanic tribes who later became the English were still occupying their continental homes, they had various relations with the Romans through which they acquired a considerable number of Latin words. Later when they came to England they saw the evidences of the long Roman rule in the island and learned from the Celts a few additional Latin words, which had been acquired by them. And a century and a half later still, when Roman missionaries reintroduced Christianity into the island, this new cultural influence resulted in a really extensive adoption of Latin elements into the language. There were thus three distinct occasions on which borrowing from

Latin occurred before the end of the Old English period, and it will be of interest to consider more in detail the character and extent of these borrowings.

The first Latin words to find their way into the English language owe their adoption to the early contact between the Romans and the Germanic tribes on the continent. Several hundred Latin words are found in the various Germanic dialects at an early date. The adopted words naturally indicate the new conceptions, which the Teutons acquired from this contact with a higher civilization. Next to agriculture the chief occupation of the Germans in the empire was war, and this experience is reflected in words like 'camp' (battle), 'segn' (banner), 'weall' (wall) and so on so forth. And more numerous words are the words connected with trade: 'win' (wine), 'flasce' (flask, bottle) and etc. The greatest influence of Latin upon Old English was occasioned by the introduction of Christianity into Britain in 597. The faith was far from the new in the island, but this date marks the beginning of a systematic attempt on the part of Rome to convert the inhabitants and make England a Christian country. The introduction of Christianity meant the building of churches and the establishment of monasteries. Latin, the language of the services and of ecclesiastical learning, was once more heard in England. During the Old English period, Latin words made their way gradually into the English language. Many new occupations, which followed in the train of the new religion, would naturally demand expression and would at times find the resources of the language inadequate. It is obvious that the most typical as well as the most numerous class of words introduced by the new religion would have to do with that religion and the details of its external organization. Words are gradually taken over by one language from another in answer to a definite need. They are adopted because they express ideas that are new or because they are so intimately associated with an object or a

concept that acceptance of the thing involves acceptance also of the word.

Near the end of the Old English period English underwent a third foreign influence, the result of contact with another important language, the Scandinavian. In the 9th century, the Germanic inhabitants of the Scandinavian Peninsula and Denmark began a series of attacks upon all the lands adjacent to the North Sea and the Baltic. Their activities began in plunder and ended in conquest. It was after the Danes had begun to settle down peaceably in the island and enter the ordinary relations of life with the English that Scandinavian words commenced to enter the language in numbers. The Scandinavian elements are of the character. The borrowings are simple ones in everyday life: dirt, link, seat, kid, egg, skin, skirt, window and so on. That the Scandinavian influence not only affected the vocabulary but extended to matters of grammar and syntax as well is less capable of exact demonstration but is hardly to be doubted. Inflexions are seldom transferred from one language to another. A certain number of inflectional elements peculiar to the Northumbrian dialect have been attributed to Scandinavian influence, among others the -s of the third person singular, present indicative, of verbs and the participial ending -and (bindand), corresponding to -end and -end in the Midland and South, and now replaced by -ing. The words 'scant, want, athwart' preserve in the final 't' the neuter adjective ending of Old Norse. It is much more important to recognize that in many words the English and Scandinavian languages differed chiefly in their inflectional elements. The body of the word was so nearly the same in the two languages that only the endings would put obstacles in the way of mutual understanding. In the mixed population in the Danelaw these endings must have led to much confusion, tending gradually to become obscured and finally lost. It seems but natural that the téndency toward the loss of inflexions, which has the characteristic of the English language in the north even in Old English

times, was strengthened and accelerated by the conditions that prevailed in the Danelaw, and that some credit must be given the Danes for a development which, spreading to other parts and being carried much further, resulted after the Norman Conquest in so happily simplifying English grammar. It is hardly possible to estimate the extent of the Scandinavian influence by the number of borrowed words that exist in Standard English. That number, if we restrict the list to those for which the evidence is fully convincing, is about nine hundred. These are almost always words designating common everyday things and fundamental concepts. Anyway, the Scandinavian influence was tremendous. The period during which this large Danish element was making its way into the English vocabulary was doubtless the 10th and 11th centuries. This was the period during which the merging of the two peoples was taking place. The occurrence of many of the borrowed words in written records was generally somewhat later. A considerable number first made their appearance at the beginning of the 13th century. But we must attribute this fact to the scarcity of literary texts of an earlier date, particularly from the region of the Danelaw. Because of its extent and the intimate way in which the borrowed elements were incorporated, the Scandinavian influence is one of the most interesting of the foreign influences that have contributed to the English language.

3. Middle English

第三节 中古英语

导读:

公元 1150 年至公元 1500 年这一时期的英语称为中古英语。中古英语时期是一个英语语言经历巨变的时期，英语的语法发生

了许多根本性的变化，其主要表现是屈折形式（即词尾变化）的逐渐消失。如果说古英语时代是词尾屈折的全盛时期，那么继之而来的中古英语时代则是一个词尾屈折同化或磨平的时期。词尾屈折形式消失必然影响句法结构，于是，中古英语语义的表达主要依赖于语序。除了语法方面的变化，词汇的借代现象是中古英语的另一重大变化。中古英语吸收了大量的外来词，为数最多的是法语词汇和拉丁语词汇。11 世纪诺曼人征服了英国，在英国，实际上存在着 3 种语言：法语、拉丁语和英语。在近 300 年中，法语是英国的官方语言，拉丁语是宗教语言，而英语是英国下层社会语言。14 世纪，英语终于随着独立统一的英国民族国家的形成，而被确立为英国的本族语。英语地位在英国重新确立之后，产生了乔叟这样一个伟大的诗人。从 15 世纪中以后，伦敦方言逐渐成为英国的标准的文学语言。

***Middle English A Period Of Great Changes*.** The Middle English period (1150 – 1500) was marked by momentous changes in the English language, and these changes more extensive and fundamental than those that have taken place at any time before or since. Some of the changes were the result of the Norman Conquest and the conditions, which followed in the wake of the event. Others were a continuation of tendencies that had begun to manifest themselves in Old English. These would have gone on even without the Conquest, but they took place more rapidly because the Norman invasion removed from English those conservative influences that are always felt when a language is extensively used in books and is spoken by an influential educated class. The changes of this period affected English in both its grammar and its vocabulary. They were so extensive in each department that it is difficult to say which group is the more significant. Those in the grammar reduced English from a highly inflected language to an extremely analytic one. Those in the vo-

cabulary involved the loss of a large part of the Old English word-stock and the addition of thousands of words from French and Latin. At the beginning of the period English is a language, which must be learned like a foreign tongue; at the end it is Modern English.

Middle English extends from about A.D. 1100 to about 1500, and may be said to take in the mediaeval period more narrowly so-called. It begins with the Norman Conquest and ends with a transitional period leading to the close of the Middle Ages. It is marked by the sweeping changes in vocabulary caused first by the Scandinavianizing of the dialects in which they most operated, yet since the language of Northumbria and East Anglia and other lesser areas where Norsemen settled was scarcely written down in Old English times, it is only in Middle English documents that the real force of the Norse influence on the language becomes perceptible. The effects of the Norman Conquest and of the consequent French cultural influences later, were to deprive English finally of its homogenous character, Norse, being fairly closely related to Old English, and Norse has left far less distinctive traces in the main stream of English than Norman French, which was not a Germanic language and had naturally far more 'foreign' ways with it. Inflexions, which had begun to weaken or become blurred in later Old English owing to the fixed stress already touched on (and perhaps helped by the mixing with the related Norse dialects of the earlier invaders), became definitely reduced in the Middle English period: and it is for this reason that it has been called the period of 'leveled' inflexions. This weakening of inflexions caused the word order to become less free, as well as encouraging the growth of the use of prepositions and periphrases. Owing to the difficulties of the French scribes who became the chief copyists for a time in the 12th and 13th centuries with the unfamiliar Old English spelling and some Anglo-Saxon letters not used on the Continent, there was in Middle English, especially in its earlier period,

confusion in spelling and a loss of that phonetic habit with which Old English had begun. Some of the English letters had ceased adequately to represent a changing pronunciation in later Old English, and French scribes introduced some of their own Continental methods of spelling, so that uncertainty in orthography resulted. This confused spelling was further aggravated by the loss in the Middle English period of that idea of a kind of standard or common literary dialect, which had been a feature of later Old English. The use of Latin for learned work, and of Norman French for aristocratic entertainment, reduced the English vernacular to a set of spoken dialects with little common impetus towards a norm or standard, and West Saxon had no successor as a common literary vehicle. But this diversity of dialects for literary purposes remained even when, in the 14th century, the vernacular once again began to assert itself effectively as the language of English culture. It was only with the growth of London as the center of commercial, political, legal and ecclesiastical life towards the end of this century that there began to emerge the dialect of educated Londoners as a widespread medium of written expression, which was to become later the literary English we know. London's very heterogeneous population, drawn from all over the country, developed a kind of mixed dialect of the educated and commercial classes distinct from the local tongue of the streets whose modern direct descendant is 'Cockney'. The comparative nearness of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge (the only two in the century), with their similarly very mixed educated 'foreign' population, helped further to develop this new dialect of which London was the center. But the East Anglian trade, especially that in wool and cloth, caused London to have particularly close connections with the East Midlands; and it is for this reason that the educated heterogeneous population of London developed a very mixed dialect, spreading out to take in educated Oxford and Cambridge, which became largely East Mid-

land in character while retaining a foundation of the original South – Eastern of its geographical position. It will now be seen that 'received standard' English is described as descending from an East Midland type of dialect rather than from King Alfred's West-Saxon. It was in the later Middle English period, then, that England's capital, as has happened in most centuries, began to provide the whole country with its written language. Not till the late 16th century may this process be sad to have been completed, and not till two centuries later still was the same result also achieved for the spoken language. This period ends with the introduction of printing to England by Caxton; and it is because so many rapid changes were going on in the language about that time as well as a corresponding transition from the Middle Ages to modern times in history generally, that it is convenient to regard the period from 1450 to about 1500 as one of transition from Middle to Modern English. This and the immediately preceding century were marked by a widening of the English vocabulary through technical Latin terms as well as through contacts with Continental European science and culture.

***Historical Changes*.** The period we call Middle English runs from the beginning of the 12th century until the beginning of the 16th century, with the manuscripts at either end of this period showing the language in a state of change. The main influence on English was, of course, French — the language introduced to Britain by the Normans. Following the accession of William of Normandy, French was rapidly established in the corridors of power. William appointed French-speaking barons, and this was rapidly followed up by the appointment of French-speaking abbots and bishops. The links remained strong with Normandy, where the nobles retained their estates, and many of the kings spent long periods of time there. The written records show that there was very little use of English among the hierarchy. We are told that William himself

tried to learn English at one point, but without success. Most of the Anglo-Norman kings were unable to communicate in the language — though it is said that some used it for swearing.

In 1204, the situation changed. King John of England came into conflict with King Philip of France, and was obliged to give up control of Normandy. The English nobility lost their estates in France, and antagonism grew between the two countries (leading ultimately to the Hundred Years' War, which began in 1337). The status of French diminished as a spirit of English nationalism grew. During the 12th century, English became more widely used among the upper classes. There was an enormous amount of intermarriage with English people. By the end of the 12th century, contemporary accounts suggest that some children of the nobility spoke English as a mother tongue, and had to be taught French in school. French continued to be used in Parliament, the courts, and in public proceedings, but translations into English increased in frequency through the period, as did the number of handbooks written for the teaching of French. In 1326 English was used for the first time at the opening of Parliament. By the end of this century, when Richard II was deposed, Henry IV's speeches at the proceedings were made in English. By about 1425 it appeared that English was universally used in England, in writing as well as in speech.

How had the language managed to survive the French conquest? After all, Celtic had not survived the Anglo-Saxon invasion 500 years before. Evidently the English language in the 11th century was too well established for it to be supplanted by another language. Unlike Celtic, it had a considerable literature and a strong oral tradition. It would have taken several hundred years of French immigration to change things, but the good relations between England and France lasted for only 150 years.

The 150 years is something of a 'dark age' in the history of the lan-

guage. There is hardly any written evidence of English, and we can thus only speculate about what happened to the language during the period. Judging by the documents, which have survived, it seems that French was the language of government, law, administration, and the church, with Latin also used as a medium of education and worship. The situation becomes clearer in the 13th century, when we find an increasing number of sermons, prayers, romances, songs, letters, wills, and other documents. And then in the 14th century, we have the main achievements of Middle English literature, culminating in the writing of Geoffrey Chaucer.

General Characteristics. Then Middle English was still a Germanic language, but it differed from Old English in many ways. The sound system and the grammar changed a good deal. Speakers made less use of case systems and other inflectional devices and relied more on word order and structure words to express their meanings. This is often said to be a simplification, but it isn't really. Languages don't become simpler; they merely exchange one kind of complexity for another. Modern English is not a simple language, as any foreign speaker who tries to learn it will hasten to tell us. For us Middle English is simpler than Old English just because it is closer to Modern English. Sometime between 1400 and 1600 English underwent a couple of sound changes, which made the language of Shakespeare quite different from that of Chaucer. Incidentally these changes contributed much to the chaos in which English spelling now finds itself. One change was the elimination of vowel sound in certain unstressed positions at the end of words. For instance, the name was pronounced as two syllables by Chaucer but as just one by Shakespeare. The other change is what is called the Great Vowel Shift (since Early Modern English).

Decay Of Inflectional Endings. The changes in English grammar may be described as a general reduction of inflections. Endings

of the noun and adjective marking distinctions of number and case and often of gender were so altered in pronunciation as to lose their distinctive form and hence their usefulness. To some extent the same thing is true of the verb. This leveling of inflectional endings was due partly to phonetic changes, partly to the operation of analogy. The phonetic changes were simple but far-reaching. The earliest seems to have been the change of final -m to -n wherever it occurred, i.e., in the dative plural of noun and adjectives and in the dative singular (masculine and Neuter) of adjectives when inflected according to the strong declension. At the same time, the vowels a, o, u, e in inflectional endings were obscured to a sound, the so-called 'indeterminate vowel', which came to be written e (less often i, y, u, depending on place and date). As a result, a number of originally distinct endings such as -a, -u, -e, -an, -um were reduced generally to a uniform -e, and such grammatical distinctions as they formerly expressed were no longer conveyed. Traces of these changes have been found in Old English manuscripts as early as the 10th century. By the end of the 12th century they seem to have been generally carried out. The leveling is somewhat obscured in the written language by the tendency of scribes to preserve the traditional spelling, and in some places the final plural 'n' was retained even in the spoken language, especially as a sign of the plural. The effect of these changes on the inflexion of the noun and the adjective, and the further simplification that was brought about by the operation of analogy, may be readily showed.

French Influence On The Vocabulary. The linguistic influence of the Middle English period is mainly marked by the French influence in vocabulary. While the loss of inflexions and the consequent simplification of English grammar were thus only indirectly due to the use of French in English, French influence is much more direct and observable upon the vocabulary. When two languages existed side by side for a

long time and the relations between the people speaking them were as intimate as they were in England, a considerable transference of words from one language to the other is inevitable. As is generally the case, the interchange was to some extent mutual. A good many English words found their way into the French spoken in England. We are naturally less interested in them, since they concern rather the history of the Anglo-Norman language. Their number was not so large as that of the French words introduced into English. English, representing an inferior culture, had more to learn from French, and there were other factors involved. The number of French words that poured into English was unbelievably great. There is nothing comparable to it in the previous or subsequent history of the language.

Although this influx of French words was brought about by the victory of the Conqueror and by the political and social consequences of that victory, it was neither sudden nor immediately apparent. Rather it began slowly and continued with varying tempo for a long time. Indeed it can hardly be said to have ever stopped. The large number of French words borrowed during the Middle Ages has made it easy for us to go on borrowing, and the close cultural relations between France and England in all subsequent periods have furnished a constant opportunity for the transfer of words. But there was a time in the centuries following the Conquest when this movement had its start and a stream of French words poured into English with a momentum that continued until to ward the end of the Middle English period. In this movement two stages can be observed, an earlier and a later, with the year 1250 as the approximate dividing line. The borrowings of the first stage differ from those of the second in being much less numerous, in being more likely to show peculiarities of Anglo-Norman phonology, and, especially, in the circumstances that brought about their introduction. When we study the French words appearing in

English before 1250, roughly 900 in number, we find that many of them were such as the lower classes would become familiar with through contact with French-speaking nobility (baron, noble, dame, servant, messenger, feast, mineral, juggler, largess). Others, such as story, rime, lay, obviously owed their introduction into English to literary channels. The largest single group among the words that came in early was associated with the church, where the necessity for the prompt transference of doctrine and belief from the clergy to the people is sufficient to account for the frequent transfer of words. In the period after 1250 the conditions under which French words had been making their way into English were supplemented by a new and powerful factor: those who had been accustomed to speak French were turning increasingly to the use of English. Whether to supply deficiencies in the English vocabulary or in their own imperfect command of that vocabulary, or perhaps merely yielding to a natural impulse to use a word long familiar to them and to those they addressed, the upper classes carried over into English an astonishing number of common French words. In changing from French to English they transferred much of their governmental and administrative vocabulary, their ecclesiastical, legal, and military terms, their familiar words of fashion, food and social life, the vocabulary of art, learning, and medicine. In general we may say that in the earlier Middle English period the French words introduced into English were such as men speaking one language often learn from those speaking another; in the century and a half following 1250, when all classes were speaking or learning to speak English, they were also such words as people who had been accustomed to speak French would carry over with them into the language of their adoption. Only in this way can we understand the nature and extent of the French importations in this period.

English would owe many of its words dealing with government and

administration to the language of those who for more than two hundred years made public affairs their chief concern. In religion the church was scarcely second to the government as an object of Norman interest and ambition. The higher clergy, occupying positions of wealth and power, were practically all Normans. Ecclesiastical preferment opened the way to a career that often led to the highest political offices at court. French was so long the language of the law courts in England that the greater part of the English legal vocabulary comes from the language of the conquerors. Militarily, the large part which war played in English affairs in the Middle ages, the fact that the control of the army and navy was in the hands of those who spoke French, and the circumstance that much of English fighting was done in French all resulted in the introduction into English of a number of French military terms. In social life, that the upper classes should have set the standard in fashion and dress is so obvious an assumption that the number of French words belonging to this class occasions no surprise. The cultural and intellectual interests of the ruling class are reflected in words pertaining to the arts, architecture, literature, learning, and science, especially medicine.

Here Are Some Of French Loan Words In Middle English:

Administration

baron, chancellor, coroner, council, court, duke, exchequer, government, liberty, majesty, manor, mayor, minister, noble, parliament, peasant, prince, realm, revenue, royal, sir, sovereign, squire, tax, traitor, treasure, treaty, tyrant

Religion

abbey, baptism, cardinal, cathedral, chant, charity, clergy, confess, convent, creator, crucifix, friar, heresy, immortality, mercy, miracle, novice, ordain, pity, prayer, religion, saint, salvation, sermon, solemn, trinity, vicar, virgin; virtue

Law

accuse, adultery, arrest, arson, assize, attorney, bail, blame, convict, crime, decree, depose, evidence, felon, fine, gaol, heir, inquest, judge, jury, justice, larceny, legacy, pardon, plaintiff, plea, prison, punishment, sue, summons, verdict, warrant

Military

ambush, archer, army, battle, besiege, captain, combat, defend, enemy, garrison, guard, lance, lieutenant, moat, navy, peace, portcullis, retreat, sergeant, siege, soldier, spy, vanquish

Fashion

brooch, button, cloak, collar, diamond, dress, embroidery, emerald, fashion, gown, jewel, ornament, pearl, petticoat, robe

Food and Drink

appetite, bacon, beef, biscuit, cruet, date, dinner, feast, fry, grape, gravy, jelly, lettuce, mackerel, mustard, mutton, orange, oyster, plate, pork, roast, salad, salmon, saucer, sausage, spice, supper, taste, toast, treacle, veal, venison, vinegar

Learning and Art

art, beauty, geometry, grammar, image, medicine, music, noun, painting, paper, pen, poet, romance, sculpture, story,

Medicine

surgeon, physician, malady, pain, leper, remedy, ointment, poison, stomach, pulse, plague, niter

General

action, adventure, age, blue, brown, bucket, carol, carry, ceiling, certain, chair, chess, chimney, city, conversation, curtain, cushion, dance, debt, easy, flower, forest, foreign, gay, hour, joy, kennel, lamp, leisure, mountain, move, nice, ocean, ointment, pain, pantry, people, piece, please, real, reason, river, scarlet, spaniel, spe-

cial, square, stomach, terrier, towel, use, usual, wait, wardrobe

Some time elapsed after the Norman Conquest before its effects were left to any appreciable degree by the English vocabulary. This fact has long been recognized in a general way, but it is only within this century that the materials have been available which enable us to speak with any assurance as to the exact period when the greatest number of French words came into the language. These materials are the dated quotations in the Oxford English dictionary. In 1905 Otto Jesperson made a statistical study of one thousand words borrowed from French, classifying them by half centuries. The result is highly illuminating.

Period	Number of French words
... – 1050	2
1051 – 1100	0
1101 – 1150	2
1151 – 1200	7
1201 – 1250	35
1251 – 1300	99
1301 – 1350	108
1351 – 1400	198
1401 – 1450	74
1451 – 1500	90
1501 – 1550	62
1551 – 1600	95
1601 – 1650	61
1651 – 1700	37
1701 – 1750	33
1751 – 1800	26
1801 – 1850	46
1851 – 1900	25

For a hundred years after the Conquest there is no increase in the number of French words being adopted. In the last half of the 12th century, the number increases slightly in the period from 1200 – 1250. Then the full tide sets in, rising to a climax at the end of the 14th century. By 1400 the movement has spent its force. A sharp drop in the 15th century has been followed by a gradual tapering off ever since.

While there is no way of knowing how long a word had been in the language before the earliest recorded instance, it is a striking fact that so far as surviving records show, the introduction of French words into English follows closely the progressive adoption of English by the upper classes. As we have seen, the years from 1250 to 1400 mark the period when English was everywhere replacing French. During these 150 years 40% of all the French words in the English language came in.

Latin Borrowings In Middle English. The influence of the Norman Conquest is generally known as the Latin Influence of the Third Period in recognition of the ultimate source of the new French words. But it is right to include also under this designation the large number of words borrowed directly from Latin in Middle English. These differed from the French borrowings in being less popular and in gaining admission generally through the written language. Of course, it must not be forgotten that Latin was a spoken language among ecclesiastics and men of learning, and a certain number of Latin words could well have passed directly into spoken English. Their number, however, is small in comparison with those that we can observe entering by way of literature. The 14th and 15th centuries were especially prolific in Latin borrowings. These centuries were a time when several thousand words came into English directly from Latin (though it is often difficult to exclude an arrival route via French). The 1384 translation of the Bible initiated by John Wyclif, for example, contained over 1,000 Latin words not previously known in En-

glish. Most of these words were professional or technical terms, belonging to such fields as religion, medicine, law and literature. The permanent additions from Latin to the English vocabulary in this period are much larger than what has generally been realized.

Some of Latin Borrowings In Middle English:

abject, adjacent, conspiracy, contempt, distract, genius, gesture, history, incarnate, include, incredible, incumbent, index, infancy, inferior, infinite, intellect, interrupt, legal, lucrative, lunatic, magnify, mechanical, missal, moderate, necessary, nervous, ornate, picture, polite, popular, private, prosecute, pulpit, quiet, reject, rosary, scripture, solar, spacious, subjugate, substitute, testimony, ulcer

Synonyms At Three Levels. The result of the simultaneous borrowing of French and Latin words led to a highly distinctive feature of modern English vocabulary. The richness of English in synonyms is largely due to the happy mingling of Latin, French, and native elements. Language has indeed for the simple, the polished, and even the recondite word. It has been said that we have a synonym at each level — popular, literary, and learned. While this statement must not be pressed too hard, a difference is often apparent. The truth is that sets of three words all express the same fundamental meaning, but they differ slightly in meaning or stylistic effect. The English word is often the more popular one, with the French word being literary, and the Latin word more learned. But more important than this, there are distinctions in the way the words are used. The difference in tone between the English and the French words is often slight; the Latin word is generally more bookish. However, it is more important to recognize the distinctive uses of each than to form prejudices in favor of one group above another.

Synonyms Of Three Languages:

English	French	Latin
kingly	royal	regal
ask	question	interrogate
fast	firm	secure
rise	mount	ascent
holy	sacred	consecrated
time	age	epoch
goodness	virtue	probity
fire	flame	conflagration
fear	terror	trepidation

Loss Of Native Words. After the Norman Conquest, duplications frequently resulted. Many of the French words that came into use bore meanings already expressed by a native word. In such cases one of two things happened: of the two words one was eventually lost, or, where both survived, they are differentiated in meaning. In some cases the French word disappeared, but in a great many cases it was the Old English word that died out. The substitution was not always immediate; often both words continued in use for a longer or shorter time, and the English word occasionally survives in the dialects today. Thus the Old English 'eam', which has been replaced in the standard speech by the French word 'uncle', is still in use (eme) in Scotland. The Old English 'anta' contested its position with the French 'envy' until the time of Chaucer, but eventually lost out and with it went the adjective 'andig' (envious) and the verb 'andian' (to envy). In this way many common Old English words succumbed. However, not all the Old English words that have disappeared were driven out by French equivalents. Some gave way to other more or less synonymous words in Old English. Many independently fell into disuse. Nevertheless the enormous invasion of French words not only took the place of many English words that had been lost

but itself accounts for a great many of the losses from the Old English vocabulary.

When both the English and the French words survived they were generally differentiated in meaning. The words 'doom' and 'judgment', 'to deem' and 'to judge' are examples, which have already been mentioned. In the 15th century 'hearty' and 'cordial' came to be used for feelings, which were supposed to spring from the Old English and the Latin words for heart. But we have kept them both because we use them with a slight difference in meaning, 'hearty' implying a certain physical vigor and downrightness, as in a 'hearty dinner', 'cordial' a quite or conventional manifestation, as in a 'cordial reception'. In the same way we kept a number of words for 'smell'. The common word in Old English was 'stench'. During the Middle English period this was supplemented by the word 'smell' (of unknown origin) and the French words 'aroma, odor, and scent'. To these we have since added 'stink' (from the verb) and 'perfume' and 'fragrance', from French. Most of these have special connotations and 'smell' has become the general word. 'Stench' now always means an unpleasant smell. An interesting group of words illustrating the principle is 'ox, sheep, swine, and calf' beside the French equivalents 'beef, mutton, pork, and veal'. The French words primarily denoted the animal, as they still do, but in English they were used from the beginning to distinguish the meat from the living beast. Other cases of differentiation are English 'house' beside 'mansion' from French, 'might' beside 'power', and the pairs ask — demand, shun — avoid, seethe — boil, wish — desire. In most of these case where duplication occurred, the French word, when it came into English, was a close synonym of the corresponding English word. The discrimination between them has been a matter of gradual growth, but it justifies the retention of both words in the language.

Grammatical Changes. Vocabulary was only one of the major changes affecting the language in the Middle English period. Less noticeable, but just as important, were the changes in grammar. All but a few of the Old English noun endings finally died away during the period, and the corresponding 'modern' ways of expressing grammatical relationships, using prepositions and fixed patterns of word order, became established along the lines familiar to us today. One of the consequences of the decay of inflexions was the elimination of that troublesome feature of language, grammatical gender. The gender of Old English noun was not often determined by meaning. Sometimes it was in direct contradiction with the meaning. Thus 'woman' was masculine (Old English: wif-mann), because the second element in the compound was masculine; 'wife' and 'child', like German 'Weib' and 'Kind', were neuter. Moreover the gender of nouns in Old English was not so generally indicated by the declension as it is in a language like Latin. Instead it was revealed chiefly by the concord of the strong adjective and the demonstratives. These by their distinctive endings generally showed, at least in the singular, whether a noun was masculine, feminine, or neuter. When the inflexions of these gender-distinguishing words were reduced to a single ending for the adjective, and the fixed forms of the, this, that, these, and those for the demonstratives, the support for grammatical gender was removed. The weakening of inflections and the confusion and loss of the old gender proceeded in a remarkably parallel course. In the north, where inflexions weakened earliest, grammatical gender disappeared first. In the south it lingered longer because there the decay of inflexions was slower.

Our present method of determining gender was no sudden invention of Middle English times. The recognition of sex, which lies at the root of natural gender, is showed in Old English by the noticeable tendency to use the personal pronouns in accordance with natural gender, even when

such use involves a clear conflict with the grammatical gender of the antecedent. With the disappearance of grammatical gender the idea sex became the only factor in determining the gender of English nouns. It is a general observation that languages borrow words but do not borrow their grammar from other languages. The changes, which affected the grammatical structure of English after the Norman Conquest, were not the result of contact with the French language. Certain idioms and syntactical usages that appear in Middle English are clearly the result of such contact. But the decay of inflexions and the confusion of forms that constitute the really significant development in Middle English grammar are the result of the Norman Conquest only in so far as that event brought about conditions favorable to such changes. By making English the language mainly of uneducated people, the Norman Conquest made it easier for grammatical changes to go forward unchecked. Beyond this it is not to be considered a factor in such changes.

In early Middle English only two methods of indicating the plural remained fairly distinctive: the -s or -es from the strong declension and the -en (as in oxen). And for a time, at least in southern England, it would have been difficult to predict that the -s would become the almost universal sign of the plural that it has become. Until the 13th century in the south the -en plural enjoyed great favor, nouns had not belonged to the weak declension in Old English. But in the rest of England the -s plural (and genitive singular) of the old declension (masculine) was apparently felt to be so distinctive that it spread rapidly. Its extension took place most quickly in the noun. Even in Old English many nouns originally of other declensions had gone over to this declension in the Norhtumbrian dialect. By 1200 -s was the standard plural ending in the north and north Midland areas; other forms were exceptional. Fifty years later it had conquered the rest of the Midlands, and in the course of the 14th century it

had definitely been accepted all over England as the normal sign of the plural in English nouns. Its spread may have been helped by the early extension of -s throughout the plural in Anglo-Norman, but in general it may be considered as an example of the survival of the fittest in language.

In the adjective the leveling of forms had even greater consequences. Partly as a result of the sound-changes already described, partly through the extensive working of analogy, the form of the nominative singular was early extended to all cases of the singular, and that of the nominative plural to all cases of the plural, both in the strong and the weak declensions. The result was that in the weak declension there was no longer any distinction between the singular and the plural: both ended in -e (blinda — blinde and blindan — blinde). This was also true of those adjectives under the strong declension whose singular ended in -e. By about 1250 the strong declension had distinctive forms for the singular and plural only in certain monosyllabic adjectives, which ended in a consonant in Old English (sing. Glad; plur. Glade). Under the circumstances the only ending, which remained to the adjective, was often without distinctive grammatical meaning and its use was not governed by any strong sense of adjectival inflexion. When in the 14th century final -s largely stopped to be pronounced, it became a mere feature of spelling. Except for a few archaic survivals, such as Chaucer's oure aller cok, the adjective had become an uninflected word by the close of the Middle English period.

The decay of inflexions, which brought about such a simplification of the noun and the adjective, made it necessary to depend less upon formal indications of gender, case and (in adjectives) number, and to rely more upon juxtaposition, word order, and the use of prepositions to make clear the relation of words in a sentence. This is apparent from the corresponding decay of pronominal inflexions, where the simplification of forms was due in only a slight measure to the weakening of final syllables that played

so large a part on the reduction of endings in the noun and the adjective. The loss was greatest in the demonstratives. In the personal pronoun the losses were not so great. By the end of the Middle English period the forms they, their, them might be regarded as the normal English plurals.

Apart from some leveling of inflexions and the weakening of endings in accordance with the general tendency, the principal changes in the verb during the Middle English period were the serious losses suffered by the strong conjugation. This conjugation, although including some of the most important verbs in the language, was relatively small as compared with the large and steadily growing body of weak verbs. While an occasional verb developed a strong past tense or past participle by analogy with similar strong verbs, new verbs formed from nouns and adjectives or borrowed from other languages were regularly conjugated as weak. Thus the minority position of the strong conjugation was becoming constantly more appreciable. After the Norman Conquest the loss of native words further developed the ranks of the strong verbs. Those that survived were exposed to the influence of the majority, and many have changed over in the course of time to the weak inflexion.

Nearly a third of the strong verbs in Old English seem to have died out early in the Middle English period. In any case about ninety of them have left no traces in written records after 1150. Some of them may have been current for a time in the spoken language, but except where an occasional verb survives in a modern dialect they are not recorded. Some were rare in Old English and others were in competition with weak verbs of similar derivation and meaning which superseded them. More than a hundred of the Old English strong verbs were lost at the beginning of the Middle English period. But this is not all. The loss has continued in subsequent periods. Some thirty more became obsolete in the course of Middle English, and an equal number, which were still in use in the 16th

and 17th centuries, finally died out except in the dialects, often after they had passed over to the weak conjugation or had developed weak forms alongside the strong. Today more than half of the Old English strong verbs have disappeared completely from the standard language. The principle of analogy — the tendency of language to follow certain patterns and adapt a less common form to a more familiar one — is well exemplified in the further history of the strong verbs, the weak conjugation offered a fairly consistent pattern for the past tense and the past participle, whereas there was much variety in the different classes of the strong verb.

Middle English Dialects. One of the striking characteristics of Middle English is its variety in the different parts of England. This variety was not confined to the forms of the spoken language, as it is to a great extent today, but appears equally in the written literature. The language differed almost from country to country, and noticeable variations are sometimes observable between different parts of the same county. The features do not all cover the same territory; some extend into adjoining districts or may be characteristic also of another dialect. Consequently it is rather difficult to decide how many dialectal divisions should be recognized and to mark off with any exactness their respective boundaries. In a rough way, however, it is customary to distinguish four principal dialects of Middle English: Northern, East Midland, West Midland, and Southern. Generally speaking, the Northern dialect extends as far south as the Humber River; East Midland and West Midland together cover the area between the Humber and the Thames; and Southern occupies the district south of the Thames, together with Gloicestershire and parts of the counties of Worester and Hereford, thus taking in the West Saxon and Kentish Districts of Old English. Throughout the Middle English period and later, Kentish preserves individual features making it off as a distinct variety of Southern English.

The peculiarities that distinguish these dialects are of such a character that their adequate enumeration would carry us beyond our present purpose. They are partly matters of pronunciation, partly of vocabulary, partly of inflexion. A few illustrations will give some idea of the nature and extent of the differences. The feature most easily recognized is the ending of the plural, present indicative, of verbs. In Old English this form always ended in -th with some variation of the preceding vowel. In Middle English the ending was preserved as -eth in the Southern dialect. In the Midland district, however, it was replaced by -en, while in the north it was altered to -es, an ending that makes its appearance in Old English times. Thus we have 'loves' in the north, 'loven' in the Midland, and 'loveth' in the south. Dialectal differences are more noticeable between Northern and Southern. The characteristic forms of the pronoun 'they' in the south were 'hi, here' (hire, hure), 'hem', while in the north forms with th- (modern they, their, them) early became predominant. In matters of pronunciation the Northern and Southern dialects sometimes presented notable differences. Initial 'f' and 's' were often voiced in the south to 'v' and 'z'. In southern Midland English we find 'vox' instead of 'fox'. This dialectal difference is preserved in Modern English 'fox' and 'vixen'. Such variety was fortunately lessened toward the end of the Middle English period by the general adoption of a standard written (and later spoken) English.

Importance Of London English. By the 15th century the most influential factors in the rise of Standard English was the importance of London as the capital of England. Indeed, it is altogether likely that the language of the city would have become the prevailing dialect without the help of any of the factors previously discussed. In doing so it would have been following the course of other national tongues — French as the dialect of Paris, Spanish as that of Castile, etc. London was the political

and commercial center of England. It was the seat of the court, of the highest judicial tribunals, the focus of the social and intellectual activities of the country. To it were drawn in a constant stream those affairs took them beyond the limits of their provincial homes. They brought to it traits of their local speech, there to mingle with the London idiom and to survive or die as the silent forces of amalgamation and standardization determined. They took back with them the forms and usages of the great city by which their own speech had been modified. The influence was reciprocal. London English took as well as gave. It began as a Southern and ended as a Midland dialect. By the 15th century there had come to prevail in the East Midland a fairly uniform dialect and the language of London had agreed in all the important respects with it. We can hardly doubt that the importance of the eastern counties, pointed out above, is largely responsible for this change. Even such Northern characteristics as are found in the standard speech seem to have entered by way of these counties. The history of Standard English is almost a history of London English.

Spread Of The London Standard. Since the latter part of the 15th century the London standard had been accepted, at least in writing, in most parts of the country. Considerable diversity still existed in the spoken dialects. In literary works after 1450 it became almost impossible, except in distinctly northern texts, to determine with any precision the region in which a given work was written. In correspondence and local records there is widespread tendency to conform in matters of language to the London standard. A factor more difficult to assess is the influence, which the Chancery clerks may have had. By the middle of the this century they had developed a fairly consistent variety of London English in both spelling and accidence, and as the language of official use it was likely to have some influence in similar situations elsewhere. With the in-

troduction of printing in 1476 a new influence of great importance in the dissemination of London English came into play. From the beginning London had been the center of book publishing in England. Caxton used the current speech of London in his numerous translations, and books that issued from his press and from the presses of his successors gave a currency to London English that assured more than anything else its rapid adoption. In the 16th century the use of London English had become a matter of precept as well as practice.

Middle English Literature. The literature written in England during the Middle English period reflected fairly accurately the changing fortunes of English. Before the first half of the 14th century French literature was dominant. By the latter half of the 14th century, the general adoption of English by all classes gave rise to a body of literature, which represents the high point in English literary achievement in the Middle Ages. The period from 1350 to 1400 has been called the Period of Great Individual Writers. The chief name is that of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340 – 1400), the greatest English poet before Shakespeare. He is a master of the complex narrative and sometimes presented as the first modern English writer, and he occupies the central position in Middle English literature. He combined the classical epic and European philosophical influence in his *Troilus and Criseyde* but also gave the vernacular a solid basis in his comic *The Canterbury Tales*. The poetic language of his *The Canterbury Tales* is not of course a guide to the spoken language of the time: it is a variety of written language which has been carefully crafted, and constrained by the metrical pattern of the verse. It contains many variations in word order, especially, which are dictated by the rhythm of the lines, and many literary allusions and turns of phrase, which often make the language difficult to follow. It is no more typical of everyday Middle English than contemporary poetry would be of modern English. Neverthe-

less, it provides a major source of information about medieval grammar, vocabulary, and (thanks to the rhymes used in the verse) sounds. And the opening lines of the Prologue to The Canterbury Tales, written in the 1390s, undoubtedly contain the most widely recognized words in the whole of Middle English. Also to this period belong William Langland, the reputed author of a long social allegory, Piers Plowman (1362 – 1387); John Wyclif, (– 1384), putative translator of the Bible and author of a large and influential body of controversial prose; and the unknown poet who wrote not only the finest of the Middle English romances, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, but three allegorical and religious poems of great beauty. Any one of these men would have made the latter 14th century an outstanding period in Middle English literature. In the 14th century English again entered polite and learned society in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Wyclif, and their fellows. Then its long and unconscious underground growth had left it improved and flexible, ready to develop into the language of Shakespeare.

The 15th century is sometimes known as the Imitative Period since so much of the poetry then written was written in emulation of Chaucer. It is also spoken of as a Transition Period, since it covers a large part of the interval between the age of Chaucer and the age of Shakespeare. Middle English literature follows and throws interesting light on the fortunes of the English language. Middle English does not stop suddenly in 1400, but major changes do take place in the language after this date. By the end of the 15th century, the advent of printing had fundamentally altered the character and quality of written texts. And the pronunciation of the language had radically changed. Soon after 1400, the six long vowels began to vary their sounds, in a series of changes known as the Great Vowel Shift.

4. Early Modern English — the 16th and 17th Centuries

第四节 早期现代英语——16、17 世纪

导读：

从 1500 年到 1700 年的英语被认为是早期现代英语。早期现代英语有三大特点：第一个特点是英语语音的显著变化，即“元音大变动”。“元音大变动”始于 15 世纪初，到 18 世纪才达到新的平衡。在这一过程中，长元音发生了声音上扬和发音部位前移的变化。第二个特点是英语词汇的丰富多彩。一方面英语词汇持续吸纳外来词，使英语语言的使用范围日益扩大；另一方面早期现代英语比中古英语更具有“可塑性”，词性可以互换使用：名词可以用作动词；形容词可以用作副词和名词。这种大胆创新、勇于探索的运用语言的现象，充分地体现在莎士比亚的作品中。第三个特点是英语语言趋于规范化。“文艺复兴”运动使得许多人文主义者认真学习和研究古希腊、古罗马和当时欧洲大陆的文化精华，从而促进了英语文学的繁荣，推动了英语向规范化的方向发展。在这一时期中，莎士比亚的作品和 1611 年版的“钦定圣经”堪称精练文字的典范。

Changing Conditions In The Modern Period. In the development of languages particularly events often have recognizable and at the times far-reaching effects. The Norman Conquest and the Black Death are typical instances that we have already seen. But there are also more general conditions, which come into being and are no less influential. In the Modern English period, the beginning of which is conveniently placed

at 1500, certain of these new conditions come into play, conditions which previously either had not existed at all or were present in only a limited way, and they cause English to develop along somewhat different lines from those that had characterized its history in the Middle Ages. The new factors were the printing press, the rapid spread of popular education, the increased communication and means of communication, and the growth of what may be called social consciousness.

The period of Early Modern English was also the period of the English Renaissance. People had a daring and imaginative view of the future. New ideas multiplied, and new ideas meant new language. Englishmen had grown accustomed to borrowing words from French as a result of the Norman Conquest; now they borrowed from Latin and Greek. The floodgates really opened, and thousands of words from the classical languages poured in. Probably the average educated American today has more words from French in his vocabulary than from native English sources, and more from Latin than from French.

The invention of the process of printing from movable type, which occurred in Germany about the middle of the 15th century, was destined to exercise a far-reaching influence on all the vernacular languages of Europe. Introduced into England in about 1476 by William Caxton, who had learned the art on the Continent, printing made such rapid progress that a scant century later it was observed that manuscript books were seldom to be seen and almost never used. Some idea of the rapidity with which the new process swept forward maybe had from the fact that in Europe the number of books printed before the year 1500 reached the surprising figure of 35,000. The majority of these, it is true, were in Latin, whereas it is in the modern languages that the effect of the printing press was chiefly to be felt. But in England over 20,000 titles in English had appeared by 1640, ranging all the way from mere pamphlets to massive folios. The re-

sult was to bring books, which had formerly been the expensive luxury of the few, within the reach of all. More important, however, was the fact, so obvious today, that it was possible to reproduce a book in a thousand copies or a hundred thousand, every one exactly like the other. A powerful force thus existed from promoting a standard, uniform language, and the means were now available for spreading that language throughout the territory in which it was understood.

Such a widespread influence would not have been possible were it not for the fact that education was making rapid progress among people and literary was becoming much more common. In the later Middle Ages a surprising number of people of the middle class could read and write. In the 17th and 18th centuries there arose a prosperous tradesman class with the means to obtain an education and their leisure to enjoy it, attested, for example, by the great increase in the number of schools, the tremendous journalistic output of a man like Defoe, and the rapid rise of the novel. As a result of popular education the printing press has been able to exert its influence upon language as upon thought.

A third factor of great importance to language in modern times is the way in which the different parts of the world have been brought together through commerce, transportation, and the rapid means of communication which we have developed. The exchange of commodities and the exchange of ideas are both stimulating to language. We shall see later how the expansion of the British Empire and the extension of trade enlarged the English vocabulary by words drawn from every part of the world, besides spreading the language over vast areas whose existence was undreamed of in the Middle Ages. But while diversification has been one of the results of transportation, unification has also resulted from ease of travel and communication. The steamship and the railroad, the automobile, and the airplane have brought people into contact with one another and joined

communities hitherto isolated, while the post office and the telegraph, the telephone, the radio, the movies, and television have been influential in the intermingling of language and the lessening of the more easily altered local idiosyncrasies.

Finally there is the important factor, which we have called social consciousness. It is no new thing, but something that in the modern world has been given freer play. It is everyone's natural tendency to identify oneself with a certain social or economic group, if possible with a slightly higher group. As long as the lines between social classes were fairly tightly drawn, a man was likely to speak the language of his class without much thought as to the consequences, but under the democratic conditions that prevail today, where a man can lift himself into a different economic or intellectual or social level, he is likely to make an effort to adopt the standards of grammar and pronunciation of the people with whom he has become identified, just as he tries to conform to their fashions and tastes in his dress or his amusements. He is as careful of his speech as of his manners. Awareness that there are standards of language is a part of his social consciousness.

Great Vowel Shift. The main difference between Chaucer's language and our own is in the pronunciation of the 'long' vowels. The consonants remain generally the same, though Chaucer rolled his r's, sometimes dropped his aitches, and pronounced both elements of consonant combinations, such as 'kn', that were later simplified. And the short vowels are very similar in Middle and Modern English. But the 'long' vowels are regularly and strikingly different. This is due to what is called The Great Vowel Shift. Beginning in the 12th century and continuing until the 18th century (but with its main effects in the 15th and early 16th centuries) the sounds of the long stressed vowels in English changed their places of articulation (i.e., how the sounds are made). Old and Middle

English were written in the Latin alphabet and the vowels were represented by the letters assigned to the sounds in Latin. For example, Middle English 'longe' in Chaucer's 'sheep' had the value of Latin 'e' (and sounded like Modern English 'shape'). It had much the same value as written long e has in most modern European languages. Consequently, one can read Chaucer's long vowels with the same values as in Latin or any continental European language and come pretty close to the Middle English values. The Great Vowels Shift changed all that; by the end of the 16th century the 'e' in 'sheep' sounded like that in Modern English 'sheep' or 'meet' /i/. To many it seemed that the pronunciation of English had moved so far from its visual representation that a new alphabet was needed, and in the 16th century we have the first attempts to 'reform' English spellings, a movement still active today. In 1569 John Hart (in his Orthographie) went so far as to devise a new phonetic alphabet to remedy what he considered a fatal flaw in our system of language. (His alphabet and the work of other language reformers provide us with our best evidence for the pronunciation of English in his time). To understand how English changed (not why; no one knows) one must first note that vowels are articulated in particular parts of the mouth; we make the sound in Modern English 'deep' /dip/ with out tongue forward and high in the mouth, and the sound in Modern English 'boat' /bot/ with our tongue lowered and drawn toward the back of the mouth and the jaw relatively low (open). Say 'ee' (or 'beet') and 'o' (òr 'boat') in succession and you may be able to feel the movement of your tongue from front to back. The Great Vowel Shift involved a regular movement of the places of articulation: The front vowels each moved up a notch, except for /i:/, which formed a diphthong . Likewise the back vowels moved up , except for /u:/, which formed another diphthong:

Position	Middle English	Modern English
Front Vowel	/iː/	/ai/
Front Vowel	/eː/	/iː/
Front Vowel	/æ/	/əː/
Central Vowel	/aː/	/əː/
Back Vowel	/uː/	/au/
Back Vowel	/oː/	/uː/
Back Vowel	/au/	/oː/

Note that the change affects only long, stressed vowels. The 'y' in Middle English 'my' was affected because it has primary stress, and we say /mai/; the 'y' in a word like 'only' was not affected (the primary stress is on the first syllable and -ly lacks stress, so we say /li/). The change is not as neat as is showed; did not complete the movement from /æː/ to /eː/ to /iː/. Moreover, when Middle English 'e' represents /æː/ and when the spelling 'o' or 'oo' represents the open vowel, it often can be determined only by the etymology of the words. Modern spellings offer a clue: as a general rule, where modern English uses 'ea' (as in 'read') or 'oa' (as in 'loaf'), the Middle English equivalent was the open vowel sound. ('Open' and 'close' or 'closed' refer to the jaw, lowered for 'open' and raised for 'close' vowels.)

It will be noticed that the Great Vowel Shift is responsible for the unorthodox use of the vowel symbols in English spelling. The spelling of English had become fixed in a general way before the shift and therefore did not change when the quality of the long vowels changed. Consequently our vowel symbols no longer correspond to the sounds, which they once represented in English and still represent in the other modern languages.

Struggle For Recognition. In the Middle Ages the development of English took pace under conditions which, because of the Norman Conquest, were largely peculiar to England. None of the other modern

languages of Europe had had to endure the consequences of a foreign conquest that temporarily imposed an outside tongue upon the dominant social class and left the native speech chiefly in the hands of the uncultivated. By the close of the Middle English period English had passed through this experience, and, though bearing deep and abiding marks of what it had gone through, had made a remarkable recovery. From this time on the course of its history runs in many ways parallel with that of the other important European languages. In the 16th century the modern languages faced three great problems: (1) recognition in the fields where Latin had for centuries been supreme, (2) the establishment of a more uniform orthography, and (3) the enrichment of the vocabulary so that it would be adequate to meet the demands that would be made upon it in its wider use. Each of these problems received extensive consideration in the England of the Renaissance, but it is interesting to note that they were likewise being discussed in much the same way in France and Italy, and so some extent on Germany and Spain. Italy had the additional taste of deciding upon the basis of her literary dialect, a matter, which in France and England had been largely taken care of by the ascendancy of Paris and London.

Although English, along with the other native languages, had attained an established position as the language of popular literature, there was still a strong tradition that sanctioned the use of Latin in all the fields of knowledge. This tradition was strengthened by the 'revival of learning', in which the records of Greek civilization became once more available in the original. Latin and Greek were not only the key to the world's knowledge, but the languages in which much highly esteemed poetry, oratory, and philosophy were to be read. And Latin, at least, had the advantage of universal currency, so that the educated all over Europe could freely communicate with each other, both in speech and writing, in a

common idiom. Beside the classical languages, which seemingly had attained perfection, the vulgar tongues seemed immature, unpolished, and limited in resource. It was felt that they could not express the abstract ideas and the range of thought embodied in the ancient languages. Scholars alone had access to this treasure; they could cultivate the things of the spirit and enrich their lives. It would seem at times as though they felt their superiority to the less highly educated and were jealous of a prerogative, which belonged to them alone. The defenders of the classical tradition were at no loss for arguments in support of their position. It was feared that the study of the classical languages, and even learning itself, would suffer if the use of the vernaculars were carried too far. And there were many who felt that it would be dangerous if matters like the disputes of theology and discussions in medicine fell into the hands of the indiscreet.

***Problem Of Orthography*.** As we approach the end of the century, we see that English has slowly won recognition as a serious thought. In the 16th century the question of orthography or 'right writing' was a matter of real importance and the subject of much discussion. The trouble was not merely that English spelling was bad, for it is still bad today, but that there was no generally accepted system that everyone could conform to. In short, it was neither phonetic nor fixed. Generally speaking, the spelling of the modern languages in the Middle Ages had attempted with fair success to represent the pronunciation of words, and this is true of English in spite of the fact that Norman scribes introduced considerable confusion when they tried to write a language which they imperfectly knew and carried over habits which they had formed in writing French. The confusion was increased when certain spellings gradually became conventional while the pronunciation slowly changed. In some cases a further discrepancy between sound and symbol arose when letters were inserted in

words where they were not pronounced because the corresponding word in Latin was so spelled, (debitum, dutitare), or in other cases by analogy with words similarly pronounced (light, night) where the 'gh' had formerly represented an actual sound. The variability of English spelling was an important part of the instability, which people felt characterized the English language in the 16th century, especially as compared with a language like Latin. To many it seemed that English spelling was chaotic. In reality it was not so bad as that. There were limits to its variety and inconsistency. It varied more from writer to writer, according to education and temperament, than within the practice of the individual. Then as now, some men were more inclined than others to adopt a given way of doing a thing and to stick to it. Consistency in a matter like spelling often went with a scholarly temperament. Spelling was one of the problems, which the English language began consciously to face in the 16th century.

During the first half of the 18th century the tendency towards uniformity increased steadily. The fixation of English spelling is associated in most people's minds with the name of Dr. Johnson, and a statement in the preface of his dictionary might lend color to this idea. In reality, however, our spelling in its modern form had been practically established by about 1650.

Some Grammatical Features. English grammar in the 16th and early 17th centuries is marked more by the survival of certain forms and usages that have since disappeared than by any fundamental developments. The great changes, which reduced the inflections of Old English to their modern proportions, had already taken place. In the few parts of speech, which retain some of their original inflections, the reader of Shakespeare or the Authorized Version is conscious of minor differences of syntax and idiom, which, while they attract attention, are not sufficient to interfere seriously with understanding. The more important of these dif-

ferences we may pass briefly in review.

The only retained in the noun were those marking the plural and the possessive singular. In the former the s-plural had become so generalized that except for a few nouns like 'sheep' and 'swine' with unchanged plurals, and a few others like 'mice' and 'feet' with mutated vowels, we are scarcely contain survivals of the old weak plural in -n. Most of these had given way before the usual s-forms: 'fon' (foes), 'kneen' (knees), 'fleen' (fleas). But beside the more modern forms Shakespeare occasionally has 'eyen' (eyes), 'shoon' (shoes), while the plural 'hosen' is occasionally found in other writers. Today except for the poetical 'kine' and mixed plurals like 'children' and 'brethren', the only plural of this type general use is 'oxen'.

Since the adjective had already lost all its endings, so that it no longer expressed distinctions of gender, number and case, the chief interest of this part of speech in the modern period is in the forms of the comparative and superlative degrees. In the 16th century these were not always precisely those now in use. But there was more variation in their use. The most noticeable difference in the use of adjectives is the way they can occur in a 'double' superlative: 'the most straightest', 'the most highest'. Shakespearian comparisons like 'honester', 'violentest' are now replaced by the analytical forms. A double comparative or superlative is also fairly frequent in the work of Shakespeare and his contemporaries: more larger, most boldest…

Many irregular verbs are found in their older forms: digged (dug), gat (got) and (gotten), bare (bore), spake (spoke), forgat (forgot), sware (swore), tare (tore), clave (cleft), strake (struck) and holpen (helped). The auxiliary verb 'shall' is used for all persons; 'will' is not found in the Authorized Version, but it is used in Shakespeare, especially in informal speech.

Even the casual reader of Elizabethan English is aware of certain differences of usage in the verb, which distinguish this part of speech from its form in later times. These differences are sometimes so slight as to give only a mildly unfamiliar tinge to the construction. In the Shakespearian time, a very noticeable difference is the scarcity of progressive forms. The large increase in the use of the progressive is one of the important developments of later times. Likewise the compound participle, 'having spoken thus', 'having decided to make the attempt', etc., is conspicuous by its infrequency. For a long time English permitted the use of a double negative. We have not now discarded it through a false application of mathematical logic to language; but in Elizabethan times it was felt merely as a stronger negative, as indeed it is today in the instinct of the uneducated. So Shakespeare could say 'I know not, nor I greatly care not'; 'My father hath no child, but I, nor none is like to have'.

The 16th century saw the establishment of the personal pronoun in the form, which it has had ever since. In attaining this result three changes were involved: the disuse of 'thou', 'thy', 'thee'; the substitution of 'you' for 'ye' as a nominative case; and the introduction of its as the possessive of 'it'. The second person pronouns were changing during this period. Originally, 'ye' was the subject form, and 'you' was the form used as object or after a preposition. This distinction is preserved in the Bible, as can be seen in such examples as 'Ye cannot serue God and Mammon'. 'Therefore I say vuto you' ··· But in most other writings, by the end of the 16th century 'you' was already being used for 'ye', and the latter form disappeared completely from standard English in the later 17th century. Similarly, 'thou' was originally used for addressing one person, and 'ye/you' for more than one. But during this period, usage changed: 'thou' became intimate and informal, and 'ye/you' polite and respectful. The 'thou' form ceased to be in general use at the end of

the 17th century — though it continued in some regional dialects and religious styles, and notably in the language of the Quakers.

'His' is used for 'its', as in 'if the salt has lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?' Although 'its' is recorded as early as the end of the 16th century, it does not become general until 100 years later. (It may be some solace to those struggling with rules of pronunciation to learn that 'its' was spelled with an apostrophe until the end of the 18th century.) Similarly, in nouns, the modern use of genitive was still not established, as is clear from such usages as 'for Jesus Christ his sake'.

Older word orders are still in use: 'follow thou me', 'speak ye unto', 'cakes unleavened', 'things eternal'. In particular, the modern use of 'do' with negatives and in questions is missing: we find 'they knew him not', instead of 'they did not know him'. By contrast, both old and new constructions are used in Shakespeare, and the 'do' construction became standard by about 1700.

The third person singular of the present tense of verbs is always -eth. Elsewhere, it is being replaced by -s northern form, which was moving south in the 6th century. It is often found in Shakespeare along with the older ending: both 'comes' and 'cometh' are used, for example (the choice depending to some extent on the needs of the poetic meter). Several prepositions have different uses from today: 'the zeal of (for) thine house, tempted of (by) Satan, to you-ward (towards you)'.

Enrichment Of Vocabulary. The Renaissance was a period of increased activity in almost every field. It would have been strange if the spirit of inquiry and experiment that led to the discovery of America, the reform of the church, the Copernican theory, and the revolution of thought in many fields should have left only language untouched. The rediscovery of Latin and Greek literature led to new activity in the modern languages and directed attention to them as the medium of literary expres-

sion. The result was a healthy desire for improvement. The intellectual aspect of the Revival of Learning had a similar effect. The scholarly monopoly of Latin throughout the Middle Ages had left the vernaculars undeveloped along certain lines. Now that this monopoly was being broken, the deficiencies of English were at the same time revealed. English was undoubtedly inadequate, as compared with the classical languages, to express the thought, which those languages embodied and which in England was now becoming part of a rapidly expanding civilization. The translations that appeared in such numbers convinced men of the truth of this fact . The very act of translation brings home to the translator the limita tions of his medium and tempts him to borrow from other languages the terms whose lack he feels in his own. For men to whom Latin was almost a second mother tongue the temptation to transfer and naturalize in English important Latin radicals was particularly great. This was so, too, with French and Italian. In this way many foreign words were introduced into English. One may say that the same impulse that led men to furnish the English mind with the great works of classical and other literatures led them to enrich the English language with words drawn from the same source. New words were particularly needed in various technical fields, where English was notably weak.

However, it is not always easy to draw the line between a word that is needed because no equivalent term exists, and one, which merely expresses more fully an idea that could be conveyed in some fashion with existing words. We can appreciate the feeling of a scholar for whom a familiar Latin word had a wealth of associations and a rich connotation; we must admit the reasonableness of his desire to carry such a word over into his English writing. The transfer is all the more excusable when one is convinced that English would be better for having it and that it is a patriotic duty to employ one's knowledge in so worthy a cause as that of im-

proving the national speech. Anyway English required in the 16th and 17th centuries thousands of new and strange words.

The great number of these new words was borrowed from Latin. But they were not exclusively drawn from that source. Some were taken from Greek, a great many from French, and not a few from Italian and Spanish. Even the older periods of English and occasionally the local dialects were drawn upon to embellish the language, in this case chiefly the language of poetry. We shall see more particularly in a moment the character of the additions made at this time, but before doing so we must consider the conflicting views that different people held concerning their desirability.

The words that were introduced at this period were often basic words — nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and most of them are Latin. But some of them were earlier acquired by Latin from Greek. Indeed most of Greek words in English until lately have come through Latin or French. But in the Renaissance the renewed study of Greek led to the introduction of some Greek words at first hand. Such, for example, are 'acme', 'anonymous', 'catastrophe', 'criterion', and so on. Some words, in entering the language, retained their original forms; others underwent changes. Words like 'climax', 'appendix', and 'axis' still have their Latin form. The adaptation to English was effected in the simple process of cutting off the Latin ending, for example, 'consult' (Latin: consultare) and 'exotic' (Latin: exoticus). Many English verbs borrowed from Latin at this time end in -ate (create, consolidate, eradicate).

It is not always possible to say whether a word borrowed at this time was taken over directly from Latin or indirectly through French, for the same wholesale enrichment was going on in French simultaneously and the same words were being introduced in both languages . Often the two streams of influence must have merged. But that English borrowed many

words from Latin firsthand is indicated in a number of ways. The word 'fact' represents the Latin 'factum' and not the French 'fait', which was taken into English earlier as 'feat'. However, it is really not important which language was the direct source of the English words since in either case they are ultimately of Latin origin. In many cases French may have offered a precedent for introducing the Latin words into English and may have assisted in their general adoption.

The English vocabulary at this time shows words adopted from more than fifty languages, the most important of which were Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Spanish. These foreign words reflect the contact with other cultures. Here are some of foreign words in this period:

From Latin and Greek:

atmosphere, autograph, capsule, dexterity, excursion, expectation, inclemency, agile, appropriate, conspicuous, expensive, external, habitual, impersonal, adapt, alienate, assassinate, benefit, consolidate, ...

From French:

alloy, ambuscade, bigot, bizarre, chocolate, comrade, detail, duel, entrance, essay, explore, mustache, progress, shock, surpass, ticket, tomato, vogue, detail, probability, ...

From Italian:

algebra, balcony, cameo, pizza design, granite, grotto, portico, stanza, trill, violin, volcano, stucco, ...

From Spanish and Portuguese:

alligator, apricot, armada, banana, bravado, embargo, hurricane, mosquito, potato, tobacco, ...

From German:

nickel, quartz, zinc, noodle, plunder, pickle, luck, landscape, wagon, cruise, deck, yacht, ...

From Arabic directly and indirectly:

alcohol, elixir, zenith, zero, garble, …

From Hebrew:

Sabbath, Jehovah, Satan, rabbi, …

From Persian:

caravan, bazaar, shawl, shah, …

From Sanskrit:

swastika, yoga, ginger, cot, jungle, loot, shampoo, bangle, pal, …

From Chinese:

tea, oolong, ginseng, kowtow, litchi, soy, sampan, …

From Japanese:

geisha, rickshaw, kimono, judo, …

From Malay:

bamboo, rattan,

From African languages:

banana, yam, voodoo, gorilla, flea, chimpanzee, zebra, …

From Slavic languages:

polka, mammoth, czar, steppe, troika, tundra, vodka, …

From Hungarian:

hussar, coach, goulash, …

From Turkish:

jackal, fez, horde, tulip, coffee, …

From American Indian languages:

moccasin, toboggan, skunk, moose, woodchuck, …

General Linguistic Characteristics. English between 1500 and 1700 is regarded as Early Modern English. As we survey the period of the 16th and the 17th centuries, we recognize certain general characteristics, some of which are exemplified in the foregoing discussion, while

others concern the larger spirit of the age in linguistic matters.

First, a conscious interest in the English language and an attention to its problems are now widely manifested. The 15th century had witnessed some attempts by individual writers to embellish their style with 'aureate terms.' These attempts show in a way a desire to improve the language, at least along certain limited lines. But in the 16th century we meet with a considerable body of literature — books and pamphlets, prefaces and incidental observations — defending the language against those who were disposed to compare it unfavorably to Latin or other modern tongues, particularly recognizing its position as the national speech, and urging its fineness for learned and literary use. At the same time it is considered worthy of cultivation, and to be looked after in the education of the young. Whereas a century or two before, the upper classes seemed more interested in having their children acquire a correct French accent, and sometimes sent them abroad for the purpose, we now find Elyot urging that noblemen's sons should be brought up by those who spoke none English but that which is clean, polite, perfectly and articulately pronounced, omitting no letter or syllable, and observing that he knew some children of noble birth who had attained corrupt pronunciation through the lack of such precautions. Numerous books attempt to describe the proper pronunciation of English, sometimes for foreigners but often presumably for those native dialect did not conform to the standard of London and the court. Along with this regard for English as an object of pride and cultivation went the desire to improve it in various ways — particularly to enlarge its vocabulary and to regulate the spelling. All of these efforts point clearly to a new attitude toward English, an attitude, which makes it an object of conscious and in many ways fruitful consideration.

In the second place, we attain in this period to something in the nature of a standard, something moreover that is recognizably 'modern'.

The effect of the Great Vowel Shift was to bring the pronunciation within measurable distance of that which prevails today. The influence of the printing press and the efforts or spelling reformers had resulted in a form of written English that offers little difficulty to the modern reader. And the many new words added by the methods already discussed had given us a vocabulary that has on the whole survived. Moreover, in the writings of Spenser and Shakespeare, and their contemporaries generally, we are aware of local dialect. Although Sir Walter Raleigh might speak with a broad Devonshire pronunciation, and for all we know Spenser and Shakespeare may have carried with them through life traces in their speech of their Lancashire and Warwickshire ancestry, yet when they wrote they wrote a common English without dialectal idiosyncrasies. This was to be the speech of London and the court. It is not without significance that he adds, "herein we are already ruled by the English Dictionaries and other books written by learned men, and therefore it needeth none other direction in that behalfe." However subject to the variability characteristic of a language not yet completely settled, written English in the latter part of the 16th century is fully entitled to be called a standard speech.

Thirdly, English in the Renaissance, at least we see it in books, was much more plastic than now. Men felt freer to mould it to their wills. Words had not always distributed themselves into rigid grammatical categories. Adjectives appear as adverbs or nouns or verbs, nouns appear as verbs, in fact, any part of speech as almost any other part. When Shakespeare wrote, he was fitting the language to his thought, rather than forcing his thought into the mold of conventional grammar. This was keeping with the spirit of his age. It was in language, as in many other respects, an age with the characteristics of youth — vigor, a willingness to venture, and a disposition to attempt the untried. The spirit that animated Hawkins and Drake and Raleigh was not foreign to the language of their

time.

Finally, we note that in spite of all the progress that had been made toward a uniform standard, there were a good many features of the language that were still unsettled. There still existed a considerable variety of use — alternative forms in the grammar and spelling. Certain latitude was clearly permitted among speakers of education and social position, and the relation between the literary language and good colloquial English was so close that this latitude appears also in the written language. Where one might say have wrote or have written with equal propriety, as well as housen or houses, shoon or shoes, one must often have been in doubt over which to use. One heard 'service' also pronounced 'sarvice', and the same variation occurred in a number of other words (certain — sartin, concern — consarn, divert — divart, clerk — clark, smert — smart, etc.). These and many other matters were still unsettled at the close of the period. Their settlement, as we shall see, was one of the chief concerns of the next age.

***English Literature*.** The European Renaissance had filtered into England by the 16th century and led to the questioning of the religious beliefs and assumptions of the Middle Ages. The English Renaissance was largely literary, and achieved its finest expression in the so-called Elizabethan drama, which began to excel only in the last decade of the 16th century and reached its height in the first 15 years of the 17th century. Literature began to look back beyond the medieval period by the classics for inspiration, and Neoplatonism, through Edmund Spenser and lyrical courtly poetry, became the dominant philosophical theme. Humanism emerged in Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesie (the beginnings of English literary criticism), in Francis Bacon's prose essays, and particularly in the plays of William Shakespeare. As the central figure of the English Renaissance, Shakespeare expresses both its conflicts and its glori-

ous energy and provides the basis for its reputation as the golden age of English literature and of English drama in particular. In the 17th century, there emerged also the intellectual passion of metaphysical poetry — with John Donne at its center — containing the conflicts between love, religion, and the individual. Out of this grew a period of Puritanism, leading to the closure of all English theatres in 1642 and to Oliver Cromwell's Puritan regime. The dominant literary figure was John Milton, and his influential religious epic Paradise Lost (1667) provided a link between the Puritan era and the restoration of the monarchy.

***Shakespeare And The Bible*.** The greatest writer of the Early Modern English period is of course Shakespeare, and the best-known book is the *King James Version of the Bible*. All textbooks on the history of English agree that the two influences, which dominate the final decades of the English Renaissance, are the works of William Shakespeare (1564 – 1616) and the *King James Bible* (the 'Authorized Version') of 1611. The Bible has made many features of Early Modern English perfectly familiar to many people down to present times, even though we do not use these features in present-day speech and writing. Dominate, that is, from a linguistic point of view. The question of his literary brilliance and significance is not an issue discussed here. Our question is much simpler yet more far-reaching: what was their effect on the language?

This is not just a matter of the way these works use language in a memorable way, the 'quotability', as some say. Certainly, extracts from both sources predominate in any collection of quotations. But quotations are different. 'To be or not to be' is a quotation, but it had no subsequent influence on the development of the language's grammar or vocabulary. If we turn to his works, we find, as we might expect, that the age of Shakespeare brought with literature a large accession to the literary vocabulary, 'lyric', 'epic', 'dramatic', 'blank verse', 'fiction', and

'critic'. On the other had, Shakespeare's use of 'obscene' is not part of any especially memorable quotation, but it is the first recorded use in English of this word, and it stayed in the language thereafter.

Of course, to say that Shakespeare, or anyone, is 'the first' to use a word, or to use it in a particular way, does not mean that this person actually invented the word of usage. It may already have been present in the spoken language, but never written down. However, this is really beside the point. Whether Shakespeare was the first to use a word or not remains that his use of it put the word into circulation, in a way that had not happened before.

Not all the new words in Shakespeare were taken into the language as a whole. Some that did were: accommodation, assassination, barefaced, countless, courtship, dislocate, dwindle, eventful, fancy-free, lack-luster, laughable, premeditated and submerged. Some that did not were: abruption, appertainments, cadent, conflux, protractive, questrist, tortive, ungenitured and vastidity. A large number of idiomatic phrases are also found for the first time in his writing.

The Authorized Version of the Bible, similarly, introduced many idioms into the language. It is a more conservative language than is found in Shakespeare. The group of translators had been instructed to pay close attention to the English translators, which had already appeared. As they say in their Preface, their aim was not to make a new translation, 'but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not to be expected against'. They aimed for a dignified, not a popular style, and used older forms of the language, even when modern alternatives were available.

The Authorized Version of the Bible, then, does not contain large numbers of new words, as Shakespeare's plays did. The vocabulary looks backwards, rather than forwards. Compared with Shakespeare's vocabu-

lary of over 30,000 words, this translation of the Bible is tiny, containing only about 8,000.

Similarly, the *Authorized Version* looks backwards in its grammar, and preserves many of the forms and constructions, which were falling out of use elsewhere. Not that this period was one in which there was much basic change in grammar. The main developments, the loss of word endings and the fixing of word order, had largely run their course in the medieval period. In Early Modern English, what we see is in a conservative style, such as that of the Bible or the *Bible of Common Prayer* (originally compiled in 1549, in a style which was largely preserved in the 1662 version still used today). In Shakespeare, on the other hand, much greater use is made of the newer forms and constructions. The religious sources, therefore, are a good way of displaying the differences between 16th century and modern English grammar. They show the distance the language still had to travel to reach is present-day norms.

5. Modern English—the 18th Century

第五节　现代英语——18 世纪

导读:

18 世纪，英语进入一个语言成熟阶段，其语序基本固定，语音经过元音大变动而趋于稳定。但是，18 世纪的启蒙思想家和作家认为，英语仍无“法”可循，英语好像充满着犹豫不定的成分，他们表达了对英语语言应有规律和稳定的一种渴望。于是，许多学者致力于使英语纯洁化、标准化和固定化的工作。1755 年约翰逊编纂的《英语词典》问世，这是一部具有权威标准的英语大词典，它大大地促进了英语语言的规范化和标准化。但是，词典没有解决句子结构规范化的问题。18 世纪下半叶，比较有影响的语法书开始出现。学者们从规定主义的观点出发，

忽略约定俗成的语言现象，执意规定人们应该怎样使用英语，使得英语句法缺乏它在文艺复兴时期的那种灵活性，但在精确和清晰方面却大有改进，英语句子结构的标准也趋于一致。在词汇方面，英语对外来词继续其传统的和极强的吸纳能力。这一时期大多外来词的发音没有被英语语音所同化，但很多法语外来词采用了英语的重音。随着英国殖民扩张，英国人从探险航行中，从遥远的地方，带回来的不仅是物产，而且带回来许多新的词语。

Temper Of The Period. During the 18th century many pamphlets, articles and grammar books were published on the topic of correcting, improving and, if possible, fixing the language in a perfected form. One of the first of these characteristics to be mentioned is a strong sense of order and the value of regulation. Adventurous individualism and the spirit of independence characteristic of the previous era give way to a desire for system and regularity. This involves conformity to a standard that the consensus recognizes as good. It sets up correctness as an ideal and attempts to formulate rules or principles by which correctness may be defined and achieved. The most important consideration in the foundation of this standard is reason. The spirit of scientific rationalism in philosophy was reflected in many other domains of thought. A great satisfaction was felt in things that could be logically explained and justified. Where it was possible, reason was often supposed by the force of authoritative example, particularly classical example. Not only in literature but also in language Latin was looked upon as a model, and classical precedent was often generalized into law. It is easy to see how a standard having its basis in regularity, justified by reason, and supported by authority might be regarded as approaching perfection, and how an age, which set much store by elegance and refinement, might come to believe in this standard as an indispensable criterion of 'taste'. The 18th century, like many other periods

in history, was quietly conscious of its own superiority, and not being trammeled by any strong historical sense, any belief in the validity of other ideals than its own, or any great interest in the factors by which the ideals of former ages might be justified, it could easily come to believe in the essential rightness of its judgment and think that its own ideals could be erected into something like a permanent standard. We may well believe that permanence and stability would seem like no inconsiderable virtues to a generation that remembered the disorders and changes of the Revolution and Restoration.

The intellectual tendencies were seen quite clearly in the 18th-century efforts to standardize, refine, and fix the English language. In the period under consideration discussion of the language took a new turn. Previously interest had been shown chiefly in such questions as whether English was worthy of being used for writings in which Latin had long been traditional, whether the large additions being made to the vocabulary were justified, and whether a more adequate system of spelling could be introduced. Now for the time attention was turned to the grammar, and it was discovered that English had no grammar. At any rate its grammar was largely uncodified and unsystematized. The ancient languages had been reduced to rule; one knew what was right and what was wrong. But in English everything was uncertain. One learned to speak and write as one learned to walk, and in many matters of grammatical usage there was much variation even among men of education. This was clearly distasteful to an age that desired above all else an orderly universe. The spontaneous creativeness of a Shakespeare, using nouns and adjectives as verbs, so to speak, sublimely indifferent to rules, untroubled by any considerations in language save those springing from a sure instinct, had given place to hesitation and uncertainty, so that a man like Dryden confessed that at times he had to translate an ideal into Latin in order to decide on the cor-

rect way to express it in English.

Eighteenth-century attempts to deal with the English Language and to direct its course fall under three main heads: (1) to reduce the language to rule and set up a standard of correct usage; (2) to refine it — that is, to remove supposed defects and introduce certain improvements; and (3) to fix it permanently in the desired form. In the 18th century the need for standardization and regulation was summed up in the word ascertainment. The force of this word then was somewhat different from that which it has today. To ascertain was not so much to learn by inquiry as so settle a matter, to render it certain and free from doubt.

Uncertainty was not the only fault, which the 18th century found with English. The lack of a standard to which all might conform was believed to have resulted in many corruptions, which were growing up unchecked. It is the subject of frequent lament that for some time the language had been steadily going down. Such observations are generally accompanied by a regretful backward glance at the good old days. Various periods in the past were supposed to represent the highest perfection of English.

One of the most ambitious hopes of the 18th century was to stabilize the language, to establish it in a form, which would be permanent. It would be possible to show the continuance of this idea through much of the rest of the century, but it is sufficient to recognize it as one of the major concerns of the period with respect to the language.

***Example Of Italy And France*.** It was perhaps inevitable that those who gave thought to the threefold problem, which seemed to confront English of standardizing, refining, and fixing it, should consider what had been done in this direction by other countries. Italy and France were the countries to which the English had long turned for inspiration and example, and in both of these lands the destiny of the language had been

confined to an academy. In Italy, prolific in academies, the most famous was the Academia della Crusca, founded as early as 1582. Its avowed object was the purification of the Italian language, and to this end, it published in 1612 a dictionary, the famous *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*. The dictionary provoked controversy, one of the most effective kinds of publicity, and, though subsequently modified in important ways, it went through several editions. In the third (1691) it has reached the proportions of three folio volumes, and the fourth edition (1729 – 1738) filled six. Here then was an impressive example of the results attained in at least one country from an effort to improve its language. Perhaps an effective leading was taken in France. In 1635 Cardinal Richelieu offered a royal charter to a small group of men who for several years had been meeting once a week to talk about books and to exchange views on literature. The principal function of the Academy shall be to labor with all possible care and diligence to give definite rules to the language. One of the important projects was to make a dictionary. Work on it proceeded slowly, but in 1694 it appeared. Thus while England continued to lament the lack of an adequate dictionary, Italy and France had both apparently achieved this object through the agency of academies.

Later in England there appeared two great needs, a dictionary and a grammar. Without these two there could be no certainty in diction and no standard of correct construction. The one was supplied in 1755 by Johnson's Dictionary, the other in the course of the next half-century by the early grammarians.

Johnson's Dictionary. The publication in 1755 of *A Dictionary of the English Language*, by Samuel Johnson (1709 – 1784), in two folio volumes, was hailed as a great achievement. And it was justly so regarded, when we consider that it was the work of one man laboring almost without assistance for the short space of seven years. True, it had its de-

fects. Judged by modern standards it was painfully inadequate. Its etymologies are often ludicrous. It is marred in places by prejudice and caprice. Its definitions are at times truly Johnsonian. It includes a host of words with a very questionable right to be regarded as belonging to the language. But it had positive virtues. It exhibited the English vocabulary much more fully than had ever been done before. It offered a spelling, fixed, even if sometimes badly, that could be accepted as standard. It supplied thousands of quotations illustrating the use of words, so that, as Johnson remarked in his preface, where his own explanation is inadequate "the sense may easily be collected entire from the examples".

It is the first purpose of a dictionary to record usage. But even today, when the scientific study of language makes us much less disposed to pass judgment upon, and particularly to condemn, its phenomena, many people look upon the editor of a dictionary as a superior kind of person with the right to legislate in such matters as the pronunciation and use of words. This attitude was quite universal in Johnson's day and was not repugnant to the lexicographer as part of his task. "Every language", he says in the preface, "has its anomalies, which, though inconvenient, and in themselves one unnecessary, must be tolerated among the imperfections of human things, and which require only to be registered, that they may not be increased, and ascertained, that they may not be confounded: but every language has likewise its improprieties and absurdities, which it is the duty of the lexicographer to correct or proscribe." In a paper, which he published in the Rambler, while he was still engaged on the Dictionary, he wrote: "I have labored to refine our language to grammatical purity, and to clear it from colloquial barbarisms, licentious idioms, and irregular combinations." He condemns the word 'lesser' as a barbarous corruption, though he admits that it has all the authority, which a mode originally erroneous can derive from custom. Under 'nowise' he says,

"this is commonly spoken and written by ignorant barbarians, 'noways'." But 'noways' was one much used and, as a later contemporary observed, "These ignorant barbarians … are only Pope, and Swift, and Addison, and Locke, and several others of our most celebrated writers." In addressing the Plan of his work to the earl of Chesterfield, Johnson said: "And though, perhaps, to correct the language of nations by books of grammar, and amend their manners by discourses of morality, may be tasks equally difficult; yet, as it is unavoidable to wish, it is natural likewise to hope, that your Lordship's patronage may not be wholly lost."

Johnson himself envisaged his work as performing the same function as the dictionary of an academy. Speaking of pronunciation, he says, "one great end of this undertaking is to fix the English language"; and in the same place he explains, "The chief intent of it is to preserve the purity, and ascertain the meaning of our English idiom." Summing up his plan he says, "This … is my idea of an English dictionary; a dictionary by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preserved, its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened." These statements sound like the program of an academy.

His dictionary is a masterpiece, one of the landmarks of English literature. Its definitions are supremely concise, its erudition magnificent, if not entirely flawless. Without a nearby library to draw on, and with appallingly little financial backing (his publisher paid him a grant total of just 1575 pounds, less than 200 pounds a year, from which he had to pay his assistants), Johnson worked from a garret room off Fleet Street, where he defined some 43,000 words, illustrated with more than 114,000 supporting quotations drawn from every area of literature. It is little wonder that he made some errors and occasionally indulged himself with barbed definitions.

There were holes in Johnson's erudition. He professed a preference for what he conceived to be Saxon spellings for words like 'music', 'critic', and 'prosaic', and thus spelled them with a final 'k', when in fact they were all borrowed from Latin. He was given to flights of editorializing, as when he defined a 'patron' as "one who supports with insolence, and is paid with flattery" or 'oats' as a grain that sustained horses in England and people in Scotland. His etymologies, according to Baugh and Cable, were "often ludicrous" and his proofreading sometimes strikingly careless. He defined a 'garret' as a "room on the highest floor in the house" and a 'cockloft' as "the room over the garret." Elsewhere, he gave identical definitions to 'leeward' and 'windward', even though they are quite obviously opposites.

Grammarians And Rhetoricians. Another product of the 18th century was the invention of English grammar. As English came to replace Latin as the language of scholarship it was felt that one should also be able to control and dissect it, parse and analyze it, as one could Latin. What Dr. Johnson had done for the vocabulary was attempted for the syntax by the grammarians of the 18th century. Treatises on English grammar had begun to appear in the 16th century, and in the 17th century were compiled by even such men as Ben Johnson and Milton. These early works, however, were generally written for the purpose of teaching foreigners the language or providing a basis for the study of Latin grammar. Occasional writers like John Wallis (*Grammatical Linguae Anglicanae*, 1653) recognized that the plan of Latin grammar was not until the 18th century, generally speaking, was English grammar viewed as a subject deserving of study in itself. Even then freedom from the notions derived from Latin was something to be claimed as a novelty and not always observed. William Loughton, School-master at Kensington, whose *Practical Grammar of the English Tongue* (1734) went through five editions,

inveighs against those who "have attempted to force our language (contrary to its Nature) to the Method and Rules of the Latin Grammar" and goes so far as to discard the terms noun, adjective, verb, etc., substituting 'names', 'qualities', 'affirmations'. But most of the compilers of English grammars came equipped for their task only with some knowledge of the classical languages and tried to keep as many of the traditional concepts as could be fitted to a more analytic language.

The decade beginning in 1760 witnessed a striking outburst of interest in English grammar. In 1761 Joseph Priestley published *The Rdiments of English Grammar*. In it he showed the independence, tolerance, and good sense that characterized his work in other fields, and we shall have more to say of it below. It was followed about a month later by Robert Lowth's short *Introduction to English Grammar* (1762). Lowth was a clergyman who ultimately rose to be bishop of London. He was much more conservative in his stand, a typical representative of the normative and prescriptive school of grammarians. His grammar was more in accordance with the tendencies of the time and soon swept the field. At least twenty-two editions appeared during the 18th century, and numerous imitators spread its influence, including the well-known Lindley Murray. *The British Grammar* by James Buchanan appeared in the same year. A somewhat more elementary manual, by John Ash, was published in 1763 with the title *Grammatical Institutes*. It was designed as an "easy introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar". These were the most popular grammars in the 18th century. In 1784 Noah Webster published the second part of *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, which enjoyed much prestige in America and not a little circulation in England. Most of these books were the work of men with no special qualifications for the thing they attempted to do. There were, to be sure, writings on linguistic matters, which were not in the mold of the practical, prescriptive grammars.

A philosophical concern for linguistic universals, especially lively in France at the time, found expression in England in works such as John Wilkins' Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Understanding (1688) and James Harris' Hermes (1751). After more than a century of relative neglect these and other "universal grammars" have recently been revived because of similarities that have been found between them and certain aspects of contemporary linguistics. The effect of these philosophical writings upon the development of specific structures in the English language is difficult to assess, but it seems to have been negligible. More important for the history of the English language are the words of more practical and often had gifted grammarians who turned philosophical concerns into linguistic prescriptions. They exerted a considerable influence, especially through the use of their books in the schools, and it will be necessary to consider their aims, the questions they attempted to settle, their method of approach, and the results, which they achieved.

With them belongs another group, which may be called the rhetoricians. Though they did not compile grammars, they often discussed the same questions of usage. Of these one of the most important was Thomas Sheridan, father of the dramatist. His most important work was a lengthy treatise called *British Education* (1756), in which he attempted to show "that a revival of the art of speaking, and the study of our language, might contribute, in a great measure," to the cure of "the evils of immorality, ignorance and false taste." The second part of his work discussed the absolute necessity for such study "in order to refine, ascertain, and fix the English language." He held "that the study of eloquence was the necessary cause of the improvement, and establishment of the Roman language, and the same cause would infallibly produce the same effect with us. Were the study of oratory once made a necessary branch of education, all our youth of parts, and genius, would of course be employed in con-

sidering the value of words both as to sound and sense." His interest in language thus grew out of his interest in elocution, but his opinions throw an interesting light on the 18th century attitude towards language. More influential was George Campbell, a learned Scottish divine, whose Philosophy of Rhetoric appeared in two volumes in 1776. Campbell professed greater respect for the evidence of usage and is responsible for the definition of "good use" that is still accepted today. His book is the ancestor of numerous later works, such as those of Blair (1783) and Whateley (1828) and a succession of 19th century treatises. Questions of grammar and usage had become a matter of popular interest.

Aims Of The Grammarians. Just as the goals of linguistic scholarship vary from author in the present century, so one must recognize a variety of concerns in the 18th century. In a comprehensive and balanced history of linguistic thought, which has yet to be written, it would be necessary to consider the full range of writings, from the most specific rules of the handbooks to the speculations of the universal grammars. For a history of the English language it is appropriate to single out those efforts, which most directly affected structures of English, especially as they were taught in the classroom. There was undeniably a coherent prescriptive tradition, within which 18th-century grammarians aimed to do three things: (1) to codify the principles of the language and reduce it to rule; (2) to settle disputed points and decide cases of divided usage; and (3) to point out common errors or what were supposed to be errors, and thus correct and improve the language. All three of these aims were pursued concurrently.

One of things that the advocates of an academy had hoped it would do was to systematize the facts of English grammar and draw up rules by which all questions could be viewed and decided. In his Dictionary Johnson had declared, "When I took the first survey of my undertaking, I

found our speech copious without order, and energetick without rules: Whatever I turned my view, there was perplexity to be disentangled, and confusion to be regulated." It was necessary to demonstrate that English was not incapable of orderly treatment, was not so "irregular and capricious" in its nature that it could not be reduced to rule and used with accuracy. As Lowth said in the preface to his grammar, "It doth not then proceed from any peculiar irregularity or difficulty of our language, that the general practice both of speaking and writing it is chargeable with inaccuracy. It is not the Language, but the Practice that is in fault. The Truth is, Grammar is very much neglected among us: and it is not the difficulty of the language, but on the contrary the simplicity and facility of it, that occasions this neglect. Were the language less easy and simple, we should find ourselves under a necessity of studying it with more care and attention. But as it is, we take it for granted, that we have a competent knowledge and skill, and are able to be acquired by use, conducted by habit, and tried by the ear, carries us on without reflection; we meet with no rubs or difficulties in our way, or we do not perceive them; we find ourselves able to go on without rules, and we do not so much as suspect, that we stand in need of them." This need had obviously to be met. The grammarians of the 18th century would, without exception, have agreed with Compbell, whose *Philosophy of Rhetoric* has been mentioned above: "The man who, in a country like ours, should compile a succinct, perspicuous, and faithful digest of the laws, though no lawgiver, would be universally acknowledged to be a public benefactor." And he adds that the grammarian is a similar benefactor in a different sphere.

But the grammarian set himself up as a lawgiver as well. He was not content to record fact; he pronounced judgment. It seems to have been accepted as self-evident that of two alternate forms of expression one must be wrong. As nature abhors a vacuum, so the 18th-century grammarians

hated uncertainty. A choice must be made; and once a question had been decided, all instances of contrary usage were unequivocally condemned.

"The principal design of a Grammar of any Language," says Lowth, "is to teach us to express ourselves with propriety in that Language; and to enable us to judge of every phrase and form of construction, whether it be right or not. The plain way of doing this is, to lay down rules, and to illustrate them by examples. But, besides showing what is right, the matter may be further explained by pointing out what is wrong." The last-named procedure is a prominent feature of his and other contemporary grammars. Indeed, one may question whether it is not too prominent. One grows weary in following the endless bickering over trivialities. However the grammarians might justify the treatment of errors pedagogically, one cannot escape the feeling that many of them took delight in detecting supposed flaws in the grammar of "our esteemed writer" and exhibiting them with mild self-satisfaction. One wishes there had been more Priestleys, or men who shared his opinion: "I … think a man cannot give a more certain mark of the narrowness of his mind … then to shew, either by his vanity with respect to himself, or the acrimony of his censure with respect to others, that this business is of much moment with him. We have infinitely greater things before us; and if these gain their due share of our attention, this subject, of grammatical criticism, will be almost nothing."

Beginnings Of Prescriptive Grammar. Any study of the development of the English language in the modern period must take into consideration the influence of the prescriptive grammarians in the 18th century. To prescribe and to proscribe seem to have been coordinate aims of the grammarians. Many of the conventions now accepted and held up as preferable in our handbooks were first stated in this period. The distinction between 'lie' and 'lay' was apparently first specifically made in the second half of the 18th century. The expressions 'had rather', 'had bet-

ter' were condemned by Johnson, Lowth, and Compbell. Lowth says: "It has been very rightly observed, that the Verb 'had', in the common phrase, 'I had rather', is not properly used, either as an Active or as an Auxiliary Verb; that, being in the Past time, it cannot in this case be properly expressive of time Present; and that it is by no means reducible to any Grammatical construction. In truth, it seems to have arisen from a mere mistake, in resolving the familiar and ambiguous abbreviation, 'I'd rather', into 'I had rather', instead of 'I would rather'; which latter is the regular, analogous, and proper expression." This attitude is still found in some current books. Various opinions were expressed on the propriety of using 'whose' as the possessive of 'which', and in spite of historical justification, opposition to this use is still found among purists. The preference for 'different from' (rather than 'different than' or 'to'), the condemnation of 'between you and I', 'it is me', and 'who is it for' (although on the last two points opinion was for a time divided) are among the attitudes which, generally speaking, have been subsequently approved in the standard speech. Such is the case also with the differentiation of 'between' and 'among', the use of the comparative rather than the superlative where only two things are involved (the larger, not largest, of two), the feeling that incomparables such as 'perfect', 'chief', 'round', should not be compared (more perfect, etc.), the defense of from hence and the condemnation of 'this here' and 'that there' (although Webster defended these as ancient usage). Webster also defended 'you was' as a singular, and the expression was certainly common in literature. But Lowth and Priestley and others were against it and subsequent usage has settled upon 'were'.

It would be possible to point out many other matters of usage, which were disputed by the grammarians. The nature of the questions considered, however, is sufficiently clear from those cited above. One or two

more of special interest may be mentioned. The proper case after 'than' and 'as' was a question that troubled the 18th century greatly ('he is older than I', or 'me', but Lowth expressed the view that has since been accepted, that the pronoun is determined by the construction to be supplied or understood ('he is older than she'; 'he likes you better than me'). Another puzzling question concerned the case before gerund ('I don't like him doing that' or 'his dong that'). 'His' in this construction was vigorously opposed by Harris, Lowth, and others; but Webster held that this was "the genuine English idiom" and the only permissible form. His opinion has come to be the one widely held. Finally we may note that the 18th century is responsible for the condemnation of the double negative. Lowth stated the rule that we are now bound by: "Two Negatives in English destroy one another or are equivalent to an Affirmative." Thus a useful idiom was banished from polite speech.

One important series of prescriptions that now form part of all our grammar — that governing the use of 'shall' and 'will' — had its origin in this period. Previous to 1622 no English grammar recognized any distinction between these words. In 1653 Wallis, in his Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae stated for the benefit of foreigners that simple futurity is expressed by 'shall' in the first person, by 'will' in the second and third. It was not until the second half of the 18th century, however, that the usage in questions and subordinate clauses was explicitly defined. In 1755 Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, stated the rule for questions and in 1765 William Ward, in his *Grammar of the English Language*, drew up for the first time the full set of prescriptions which underlies, with individual variations, the rules found in modern books. His pronouncements were not followed generally by other grammarians until Lindley Murray gave them greater currency in 1795. Since about 1825 they have often been repeated in English grammars. Here, as elsewhere, the grammarians seem

to have been making absolute what was apparently a common but not universal tendency in the written language, evident in the letter-writers of the 17th and early 18th centuries. That the distinction was not observed in colloquial speech may be inferred from the language of plays, and today it is commonly ignored except by speakers who conform consciously to the rules or inherit a tradition, which has been influenced by rules.

Development Of Progressive Verb Forms. In the 18th century, of grammatical changes the verb is of great importance. It is a commonplace that English is distinctly more varied and flexible in some of its verbal expressions than the other better-known modern languages. Thus, where French says 'je chante' or German 'Ich singe', English may say 'I sing', 'I do sing', or 'I am singing'. The do- forms are often called emphatic forms, and this they sometimes are; but their most important uses are in negative and interrogative sentences (I don't sing, do you sing). The forms with 'to be' and the present participle are generally called progressive forms since their most common use is to indicate an action as being in progress at the time implied by the auxiliary. The wide extension of the use of progressive forms is one of the most important developments of the English verb in the modern period. In Old English such expressions as 'he wæs læerende (he was teaching)' are occasionally found, but usually in translations from Latin. In early Middle English, progressive forms are distinctly rare, and although their number increases in the course of the Middle English period, we must credit their development mainly to the period since the 16th century. The chief factor in their growth is the use of the participle as a noun governed by the preposition 'on' (he burst out on laughing). This weakened to 'he burst out a-laughing' and finally to 'he burst out laughing'. In the same way 'he has on laughing' became 'he was a-laughing' and 'he was laughing'. Today such forms are freely used in all tenses (is laughing, was laughing,

will be laughing, etc.).

***Progressive Passive*.** The extension of such forms to the passive (the house is being built) was an even later development. It belongs to the very end of the 18th century. Old English had no progressive passive. Such an expression as 'the man is loved, feared, hated' is progressive only in so far as the verbs loving, fearing, hating imply a continuous state. But no such attaches to 'the man is killed', which does not mean 'the man is being killed' but indicates a completed act. The construction 'the man is on laughing' was capable also of a passive significance under certain circumstances. Thus 'the house is on building' can only suggest that the house is in process of construction. This use is found from the 14th century on, and in its weakened form the construction is not unknown today. Colloquially, at least, we say 'there is nothing doing at the mill this week'. 'The dinner is cooking' and 'the tea is steeping' are familiar expressions. In some parts of America one may hear 'there's a new barn a-building down the road'. When the preposition was completely lost (on building > a-building > building) the form became 'the house is building'. Since such an expression may at times be either active or passive, it had obvious limitations. Thus 'the wagon is making' is a passive, but 'the wagon is making a noise' is active. And whenever the subject of the sentence is animate or capable of performing the action, the verb is almost certain to be in the active voice (the man is building a house). With some verbs the construction was impossible in a passive sense. Thus the idea 'he is always being called' could not be expressed by 'he is always calling'. In the last years of the 18th century we find the first traces of our modern expression 'the house is being built'. The combination of 'being' with a past participle to form a participial phrase had been in use for some time.

The history of the new progressive passive shows that English is a

living and growing thing, that its grammar is not fixed, that it will continue to change in the future as it has changed in the past, even if more slowly. If the need is felt for a new and better way of expressing an idea, we may assure that a way will be found. But it is interesting to note that even so useful a construction was at first resisted by many as an unwarranted innovation. Although supported by occasional instances in Coleridge, Lamb, Landor, Shelley, Cardinal Newman, and others, it was consciously avoided by some and vigorously attacked by others. Although the origin of the construction can be traced back to the latter part of the 18th century, its establishment in the language and ultimate acceptance required the better part of the century just past.

English Vocabulary. In this century many foreign loans continued to enter the English vocabulary. There is one feature worth noticing. The pronunciation of most of these loan words has not been assimilated into English like earlier Middle English borrowings. They are spoken with varying degrees of approximation to French, but with English stress patterns, for example, words like 'reservoir', 'debris', 'brochure' and so on. Another loan word source is brought about by the British colonization in North America and Australia. the British colonization in the world has an effect on the enlargement of English vocabulary. New territories mean new experiences, new activities, new products, all of which are in time reflected in the language. Trade routes have always been important avenues for the transmission of ideas and words. Thus English language acquires Indian words, Spanish words, Mexican words, Portuguese words from America; Hindi words from India; Aboriginal words from Australia, and so on. The cosmopolitan character of the English vocabulary is seen to be the great many of contacts the English language has had with other tongues in widely scattered parts of the world.

English Literature. The 18th century contains two major lite-

rary currents. The first current was the Augustan age, or Neoclassical period, marked by the appearance of a literary elite and exemplified by the mock-heroic satires of Alexander Pope, the pamphleteering and allegory of Jonathan Swift (perhaps the greatest satirist in the language), and the criticism of Samuel Johnson. Journalism and the prose essay flourished, both influencing and being nurtured by this movement, as seen in Joseph Addison's periodical *The Spectator*. Of great importance is the rise of the novel as an independent literary form in the works of Daniel Defoe, Henry Fielding, and Samuel Richardson.

The second current in 18th-century literature was Romanticism, which was in part a reaction against the elitism and self-imposed classical limitations of the Augustans. It began with William Blake's poetry of rebellion against convention and with the creation of a new mythology of the imagination. William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge were central to the movement, producing a manifesto of Romantic beliefs in the preface to their joint *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). These poets concentrated on the universal power of nature and the imagination and turned away from the grayness of increasing industrialization. The Romantic Movement includes widely disparate elements, however, from the lyrical sensuality of John Keats to the complex and committed literary criticism in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*.

6. Modern English — the 19th and the 20th Centuries

第六节　现代英语——19、20世纪

导读：

进入19世纪，英语在语法结构方面已经成熟起来，语音、

句法等方面的变化都不显著。当然，英语语言并没有因此而“固定下来”，它像其他自然语言一样，仍在继续演变。19 世纪以来，英语最显著的变化是：词汇快速增加。这种增加使英语成为现代世界语言中词汇最丰富、表达能力最强的语言之一。新词广泛使用就像社会生活的一面镜子，它折射出人类在科技领域和社会生活中突飞猛进的发展。英语词汇主要通过旧词新义、创造新词、词缀法、合成法、外借法、转换法等构词法来扩大词汇量。在语法方面，现代英语正在朝着精练、简化的趋势发展。这一时期，在英语发展史上值得一提的是 1928 年出版的《牛津英语词典》，到目前为止，它是一部最大的英语词典。1989 年《牛津英语词典》经过修订重新出版，修订包括采用国际音标注音等。到了 20 世纪，在原英国殖民地发展起来的英语，由于历史、地理、社会发展的原因，逐渐形成具有各自区域特点的英语变体。

***Major International Domains Of English*.** The story of English in the 20th century has been closely linked to the rise of the US as a superpower that has spread the English language alongside its economic, technological and cultural influence. In the same period, the international importance of other European languages, especially French, has declined. By the end of the 19th century, Britain had established the pre-conditions for English as a global language. Communities of English speakers were settled around the world and along with them patterns of trade and communication. Yet the world position of English might have declined with the empire, like the languages of other European colonial powers, such as Portugal and the Netherlands, had it not been for the dramatic rise of the US in the 20th century as a world superpower.

After the war, several international agencies were established to help manage global reconstruction and future governance. The key one has proved to be the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations. It is be-

lieved that 85% of international organizations now use English as one of their working languages, 49% use French and fewer than 10% use Arabic, Spanish or German.

English has been spread as a world language not only via political initiatives. Key financial institutions have been established in the 20th century, again after World War II and with major American involvement. The International Monetary Fund and World Bank were established after the 'Bretton Woods' conference in 1944. Through Marshall plan, the US became closely involved in the post-war economic reconstruction of Europe, Japan and other parts of the Asia Pacific region. The Korean and later the Vietnamese war continued the process of spreading American influence. Cultural, economic and technological dependency on America was soon a concern for nations across the world. The Bretton Woods system has since played a significant role in regulating international economic relations and in introducing free-market regimes in countries where control has been rendered 'open' to global flows of finance, goods, knowledge and culture, so the influence of English has spread.

English is now the international currency of science and technology. Yet it had not always been so. The Renaissance of British science in the 17th century put English-language science publications. But the position was soon lost to German, which became the dominant international language of science until World War I. The growing role of US then ensured that English became, once again, the global language of experiment and discovery. Journals in many countries have shifted, since World War II, from publishing in their national language to publishing in English. It is not just in scientific publishing, but in book publication as a whole that English rules supreme. Worldwide English is the most popular language of publication. UNESCO figures for book production show Britain outstripping any other country in the world for the number of titles published each

year.

Major International Domains of English

(1) Working language of international organizations and conferences

(2) Scientific publication

(3) International banking, economic affairs and trade

(4) Advertising for global brands

(5) Audio - visual cultural products (e.g. film, TV, popular music)

(6) International tourism

(7) Tertiary education

(8) International safety (e.g. 'airspeak', 'seaspeak')

(9) International law

(10) As a 'relay language' in interpretation and translation

(11) Technology transfer

(12) Internet communication

Influences Affecting The Language. The events of the 19th and 20th centuries affecting the English-speaking countries have been of great political and social importance, but in their effect on the language they have not been of a revolutionary character. The success of the British on the sea in the course of the Napoleonic Wars, culminating in Nelson's famous victory at Trafalgar in 1805, left England in a position of undisputed naval supremacy and gave British control over most of the world's commerce. The war against Russia in the Crimea (1854 - 1856) and the contests with native princes in India had the effect of again turning English attention to the East. The great reform measures — the reorganization of parliament, the revision of the penal code and the poor laws, the restrictions placed on child labor, and the other industrial reforms — were important factors in establishing English society on a more democratic basis. They lessened the distance between the upper and the lower classes and greatly increased the opportunities for the mass of the popula-

tion to share in the economic and cultural advantages that became available in the course of the century. The establishment of the first cheap newspaper (1816) and of cheap postage (1840), and the improved means of travel and communication brought about by the railroads, the steamboat, and the telegraph had the effect of uniting more closely the different parts of England and of spreading the influence of the standard speech.

During the first half of the 20th century the world wars and the troubled periods following them affected the life of almost everyone and left their mark on the language. At the same time, the growth in importance of some of England's larger colonies, their eventual independence, and the rapid development of the United States, have given increased significance to the forms of England spoken in these territories and have led their populations to the belief that their use of the language is as entitled to be considered a standard as that of the mother country.

Some of these events and changes are reflected in the English vocabulary. But more influential in this respect are the great developments in science and the rapid progress that has been made in every field of intellectual activity in the last hundred years. Periods of great enterprise and activity seem generally to be accompanied by a corresponding increase in new words. This is the more true when all classes of the people participate in such activity, both in work and play, and share in its benefits. Accordingly, the great developments in industry, the increased public interest in sports and amusements, and the many improvements in the mode of living, in which even the humblest worker has shared, have all contributed to the vocabulary. The last two centuries offer an excellent opportunity to observe the relation between a civilization and the language, which is an expression of it.

***Scientific Development*.** The most striking thing about our present-day civilization is probably the part which science has played in

bringing it to pass. We have only to think of the progress which has been made in medicine and the sciences auxiliary to it, such as bacteriology, biochemistry, and the like, to realize the difference that marks off our own day from that of only a few generations ago in the diagnosis, treatment, prevention, and cure of disease. Or we may pause to reflect upon the relatively short period that separates the Wright brothers, making history's first powered and controlled airplane flight, from the landings of astronauts on the moon and unmanned spacecraft on Mars. In every field of science, pure and applied, there has been need in the last hundred years for thousands of new terms. The great majority of these are technical words known only to the specialist, but a certain number of them in time become familiar to the layman and pass into general use.

***New Words In Medicine*.** In the field of medicirre this is particularly apparent. There are many new words: anemia, appendicitis, arteriosclerosis and so on. People maintain 'clinic', administer an 'antitoxin' or an 'anesthetic', and 'vaccinate' for smallpox. There are many names of drugs like 'aspirin', 'insulin', 'morphine', and we acquire without effort the names of antibiotics, such as 'penicillin', and 'sulfa'. We speak of 'adenoids', 'endocrine glands', and hormones, and know the uses of the 'stethoscope' and the 'bronchoscope'. We refer to the combination of food in the body as 'metabolism', distinguish between 'proteins' and 'carbohydrates', know that a dog can digest bones because he has certain 'enzymes' or digestive fluids in his stomach, and say that a person who has the idiosyncrasy of being made ill by certain foods has a 'allergy'. All of these words have come into use during the 19th and the 20th centuries.

***New Words In Other Scientific Fields*.** In almost every other field of science the same things happened. In the science of electricity, in physics, in chemistry, in psychology many new words became

familiar through the popularity of certain books or scientific reports in magazines and newspapers. Among the most publicized events of the 1960s and 1970s were the achievements of science and engineering in the exploration of space. Scientific discoveries and inventions do not always influence the language in proportion to their importance. It is doubtful whether the radio and motion pictures are more important than the telephone, but they have brought more new words upon the degree to which the discovery or invention enters into the life of the community. This can be seen admirably exemplified in the many new words or new uses of old words that have resulted from the popularity of the automobile and numerous activities associated with it. Many old words are now used in a special sense. For example, the word 'park' can be used as a verb: 'park a car', and 'parking space'.

The same principle might be illustrated by the movies, radio, and television. The words 'cinema' and 'moving picture' date from 1899, whereas the alternative 'motion picture' is somewhat later. 'Screen', 'reel', 'newsreel', 'film', 'scenario', 'projector', 'close-up', 'fade-out', 'feature picture', 'animated cartoon' are now common. The word 'radio' in the sense of a receiving station dates from about 1925, and we get the first hint of 'television' as early as 1904. Since many of the terms from radio broadcasting were applicable in the later development of television, it is not surprising to find a common vocabulary of broadcasting that includes 'broadcast' itself, 'aerial', 'antenna', 'lead-in', 'loudspeaker', 'stand by', and the more recent 'solid-state'. Words like 'announcer', 'reception', 'microphone', and 'transmitter' have acquired special meanings sometimes commoner than their more general senses. The abbreviations FM (for frequency modulation) and AM (for amplitude modulation) serve regularly in radio broadcasting for the identification of stations, as do UHF (ultrahigh frequency) and VHF (very

high frequency) in television, which in addition has need for the terms cable TV, 'teleprompter', 'telethon', and 'videotape'. The related development of increasingly refined equipment for the recording of sound since Thomas Edison's invention of the 'phonograph' in 1877 has made the general consumer aware of 'stereo' and 'stereophonic', 'quad and quadraphonic', 'woofer', 'tape deck', 'four-channel', and 'reel-to-reel'.

Language As A Mirror Of Progress. Words, being but symbols by which a man expressed his ideas, are an accurate measure of the range of his thought at any given time. They obviously designate the things he knows, and just as obviously the vocabulary of a language must keep pace with the advance of his knowledge. The date when a new word enters the language is in general the date when the object, experience, observation, or whatever it is that called it forth has entered his consciousness. Thus with a work like the *Oxford Dictionary*, which furnishes us with dated quotations showing when the different meanings of every word have arisen and when new words first appear in the language, we could almost write the history of civilization merely from linguistic evidence. When in the early part of the 19th century we find growing up a word like 'horsepower' or 'lithograph', we may depend upon it that some form of mechanical power, which needs to be measured in familiar terms or a new process of engraving has been devised. The appearance in the language of words like 'railway', 'locomotive', 'turntable' about 1835 tells us that steam railways were then coming in. In 1839 the words 'photograph' and 'photography' first appear, and a beginning is made toward a considerable vocabulary of special words or senses of words such as 'camera', 'enlargement', 'emulsion', 'focus', 'shutter', 'light meter'. 'Concrete' in the sense of a mixture of crushed stone and cement dates from 1834, but 'reinforced concrete' is an expression called forth

only in the 20th century. The word 'cable' occurs but a few years before the laying of the first Atlantic cable in 1857 – 1858. 'Refrigerator' is first found in English in an American quotation of 1841. The words 'emancipation' and 'abolitionist' have for every American specific meanings connected with the efforts to abolish slavery, efforts which culminated in the Civil War. In the last quarter of the 19th century an interesting story of progress is told by new words or new meanings such as 'typewriter', 'telephone', 'apartment house', 'twist drill', 'drop-forging', 'blueprint', 'oilfield', 'motorcycle', 'feminist', 'fundamentalist', 'marathon' (introduced in 1896 as a result of the revival of the Olympic games at Athens in that year), 'battery', and 'bunt', the last two indicating the growing popularity of professional baseball in America.

The 20th century permits us to see the process of vocabulary growth going on under our eyes; sometimes, it would seem, at an accelerated rate. At the turn of the century we got the word 'questionnaire' and in 1906 'suffragette', 'raincoat' and 'Thermos' became a part of the recorded vocabulary in 1907 and 'free verse' in 1908. This is the period when many of the terms of aviation that have since become so familiar first came in — 'airplane', 'aircraft', 'airman', 'monoplane', 'biplane', 'dirigible'. 'Nose-dive' belongs to the period of the war. In about 1910 we began talking about the 'futurist' and the 'postimpressionist' in art, and the 'Freudian' in psychology. 'Intelligentsia' as a designation for the class to which superior culture is attributed, and 'bolshevik' for a holder of revolutionary political views were originally applied at the time of the World War I to groups in Russia. At this time 'profiteer' and in America 'prohibition' arose with specialized meanings. In 1933 supplement to the Oxford Dictionary records 'cellophane' (1921) and 'rayon (1924), but not 'nylon', 'deep-freeze', 'air-conditioned', or 'transistor'; and it is not until the first volume of the new supplement in 1972

that the Oxford English Dictionary includes 'credit card', 'ecosystem', 'existentialism' (1941, though in German a century earlier), 'freeze-dried', 'convenience foods', 'bionics', 'electronic computer', 'automation', 'cybernetics', 'bikini', 'discotheque'. Only yesterday witnessed the birth of 'supersonic transport' (or SST), 'biodegradable', 'pulsar', 'op art', 'multiversity', 'stagflation', and 'biofeedback'. Tomorrow will witness others as the exigencies of the hour call them into being.

As another example of how great developments or events leave their mark upon language we may observe some of the words that came into English between 1914 and 1918 as a direct consequence of World War I. Some of these were military terms representing new methods of warfare (tank, air raid, antiaircraft gun, gas mask, liaison officer, …). It would seem that World War II was less productive of memorable words. Nevertheless it made its contribution to the language in the form of certain new words, new meanings, or an increased currency for expressions, which had been used before. In connection with the 'air' (air-raid warming), 'balchout', 'bliz' (German 'blitzkrieg', literally 'lightning war'), … The aftermath of the war gave us such expressions as 'iron curtain', 'cold war', 'front'organization' … all with a very special connotation.

Influence Of Journalism. In the introduction and popularizing of new words journalism is a big promoter. The newspaper and the more popular type of magazine not only play a large part in spreading new locutions among people but also are themselves fertile producers of new words. The reporter necessarily writes under pressure and has not long to search for the right word. In the heat of the moment he is as likely as not to strike off a new expression or wrench the language to fit his idea. Many of the colloquialisms current in popular speech find their way into writing

first in the magazine and the newspaper. In this way we have come to 'back' a horse or a candidate, to 'boost' our community, 'comb' the woods for a criminal, 'hop' the Atlantic, 'oust' a politician, and 'spike' a rumor, and we speak of a 'probe', a 'cleanup', a business 'deal', a 'go-between', a political 'slate'.

***Sources Of The New Words*.** Most of the new words coming into the language since 1800 have been derived from the same source or created by the same methods as those that have long been familiar, but it will be convenient to examine them here as an illustration of the processes by which a language extends its vocabulary. It should be remembered that the principles are not new, that what has been going on in the last century and a half could be paralleled from almost any period of the language. As is to be expected in the light of the English disposition to borrow words from other languages in the past, many of the new words have been taken over ready-made from the people from whom the idea or the thing designated has been obtained. Thus from French come 'limousine', 'haute couture', and 'fuselage'; from Italian come 'pizza', and 'mafia'; from Spanish, by way of the United States, 'macho', and 'machismo'; from German come 'seminar', and 'hinterland'; from Russian come 'vodka', and 'troika'; from Hindi come 'pyjamas', and 'chapatti'; and from Chinese come 'chow mein', and 'mah jong'.

***Prefixes And Suffixes*.** Another method of enlarging the vocabulary is by appending familiar prefixes and suffixes to existing words on the pattern of similar words in the language. Several of the Latin prefixes seem to lend themselves readily to new combinations. Thus in the period under discussion we have formed 'transoceanic', 'transformer', 'transcontinental', etc. We speak of 'postimpressionists' in art; 'postgraduate' in education and 'postclassical' in a historical period. In the same way we use 'pre-' in such words as 'prenatal', 'preschool', and 'pre-

historic'. In film we may have 'preview', or a 'prerelease'. During the wars we often read that one side or the other had launched a 'counterattack', and we organized a 'counterintelligence' service. We 'subirrigate' and build a 'subcellar', and foreign movies sometimes come to us with 'subtitles'. We can 'denote' a message, 'defrost' a refrigerator, 'deflate' the currency, and we may 'debunk' a statement, 'debug' a machine, and 'decaffeinate' coffee. It is so also with suffixes. Recent popular creations on old patterns are 'stardom', 'filmdom', 'fandom', 'gangster', 'pollster', 'profiteer', 'racketeer'.

Deliberate Inventions. A considerable number of new words must be attributed to deliberate invention or coinage. There has probably never been a time when the creative impulse has not spent itself occasionally in inventing new words, but their chances of general adoption are nowadays often created by a campaign of advertising as deliberate as the effort, which created them. They are mostly the product of ingenuity and imitation, the two being blended in variable proportions. Thus the trademark Kodak, which seems to be pure invention, was popularly used for years to refer to cameras of any brand. Words formed by combining the initial or first few letters of two or more words are known as acronyms. 'AIDS' (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) and 'radar' (radio detecting and ranging) are examples.

From Names Of Persons And Places. Another word source is the names of persons and places. The word 'sandwich' owes its use to the fact that Sandwich put slices of meat between pieces of bread. A 'limousine' is from the name of a province in France. In 1880 Captain Boycott, the agent of an Irish landowner, refused to accept rents at the figure set by the tenants. His life was threatened, his servants were forced to leave, and his figure was burnt in effigy. Hence from Ireland came the use of the verb to 'boycott', meaning to coerce a person by re-

fusing to have, and preventing others from having, dealings with him. One more example is that in the period of World War II we called a person who collaborated with the enemy a 'quisling', after the Norwegian Vidkun Quisling yield to the German occupation and became the head of a puppet state. More than five hundred common words in English have been traced to proper names, and they must be considered as illustrating one of the sources from which new words are still being derived.

Old Words With New Meanings. The resources of the vocabulary are sometimes extended from within by employment of an old word in a new sense. 'Skyline' formerly meant the horizon, but it is new commoner in such as expression as the New York 'skyline'. The word 'broadcast' originally had reference to seed, but its application to radio seems entirely appropriate. A 'record' may be many other things than a phonograph disc, and 'radiator' was used for anything which radiated heat or light before it was applied specifically to steam heat or the automobile.

Oxford English Dictionary. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) was issued in 1928. The completed dictionary contained 414,825 entries supported by 1,827,306 citations (out of 6 million collected) described in 44 million words of text spread over 15,487 pages. It is perhaps the greatest work of scholarship ever produced. The OED conformed a paradox that Webster had brought to light decades earlier — namely, that although readers appear to treat a dictionary with the utmost respect, they generally ignore anything in it that doesn't suit their tastes. The OED, for instance, has always insisted on -ize spelling for words such as 'characterize', 'itemize', and the like, and yet almost nowhere in England, apart from the pages of 'The Times' newspaper are they observed. The British still spell almost all such words with -ise endings and thus enjoy a consistency with words such as 'advertise', 'merchandise', and

'surprise' that we in America fail to achieve. But perhaps the most notable of all the OED's minor quirks is its insistence that Shakespeare should be spelled Shakspere.

The influence of this great dictionary has been far-reaching. Its authority was recognized from the appearance of the first installment. It has provided a wealth of data on which questions relating to the history of the language have been resolved. It has had a further important effect. It has profoundly influenced the attitude of many people toward language, and toward the English language in particular. By exhibiting the history of words and idioms, their forms and various spellings, their changes of meaning, the way words rise and fall in the levels of usage, and many other phenomena, it has increased our linguistic perspective and taught us to view many questions of language in a more scientific and less dogmatic way.

In the spring of 1989, a second edition of the dictionary was issued, containing certain modifications, such as the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet instead of Murray's own quirky system. It comprised the original 12 volumes, plus four vast supplements issued between 1972 and 1989. Now sprawling over twenty volumes, the updated dictionary is a third bigger than its predecessor, with 615,000 entries, 2,412,000 supporting quotations, almost 60 million words of exposition, and about 350 million keystrokes of text (or one for each native speaker of English in the world). No other language has anything even remotely approaching it in scope. Because of its existence, more is known about the history of English than any other language in the world.

***English Literature*.** The modern age of English literature began with World War I, which created a sense of disillusion manifested in the cynicism of the war poets Siegfrid Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, as contrasted with the romantic fervor of Rupert Brooke. This disillusion became

a sense of life's bleakness and lack of promises, as seen in the Modernist poetry of T.S. Eliot. There was an increasing concentration on form and language, as in the novels of James Joyce and those of Virginia Woolf and the Bloomsbury Group, and this continued into the second half of the 20th century with the poetry of W.H. Auden. Peripheral to the Modernist movement are D.H. Lawrence, whose novels examined the inner life of sexuality and the emotions and the Irish poet W.B. Yeats, whose work moved from Symbolism to Modernism and who was the leading figure in the Irish literary renaissance.

The second half of the 20th century has been characterized by no particular movement, although there has been significant development in drama, from Realism in Jogn Osborne to Absurdism in Samuel Beckett. Since the revolutionary treatment of the novel in the stream-of-consciousness technique of Joyce and Woolf, there have been no outstanding developments in the genre as an art form, although it has found solid expression in the works of such writers as Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh William Golding, and Iris Murdoch.

Establishment Of Varieties. Probably the most important force in the development of English in the modern period has been the tremendous expansion of English-speaking peoples. In 1500 English was a minor language, spoken by a few people on a small island. Now it is perhaps the greatest languages on the world, spoken natively by over 370 million people and as a second language by many millions more. When we speak English now, we must specify whether we mean American English, British English, Australian English, Indian English, South African English or what, since the differences are considerable. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

Chapter Ⅲ Structure of English

第三章 英语的结构

1. Characteristics of English

第一节 英语的特点

导读:

近百年来，英语的快速普及和发展，使英语成为当今世界上人们使用最广泛的一门自然语言。在众多原因当中，与其他欧洲语言相比，当代英语的语言特点是使其成为一门简单语言并广为流传的一大推动力。其语言特点之一：英语是一门接纳世界其他语言材料较多的语言。凡是英语所触及到的文化，必定受到这个地方的语言影响，并带有这个地方的语言痕迹，在词汇方面表现得尤其突出。特点二：英语只有较少的屈折形式（即词尾变化）。屈折形式消失的这一变化使得多数英语动词转化为规则动词，使名词复数词尾趋向统一和简化，使形容词失去性、数、格的词尾变化。特点三：英语有相对固定的句法结构的语序。由于屈折形式的最大限度的消失，语义的表达不得不依赖于语序，以至于词义的语义功能显得非常重要。特点四：英语的名词、形容词没有性和格的复杂变化，形容词还没有数的变化。这些特点确实对非英语母语的学习者来说是极其有利的。然而，并不是所有的特点

都有助于学习和掌握英语语言。例如，英语的书面拼写与口头发音并不十分吻合，英语有大量的习语、俚语和俗语。由于英语句法的简单性、功能的灵活性和词汇的开放性，英语是世界上最容易学的语言之一，同时也是最难学到家的语言之一。

Wide Use Of English. The English language is widely spoken on six continents. In the British Isles, North America, and Australia, where English is spoken as the primary language, the English-speaking population is fairly stable. In Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and Southeast Asia, however, where English is used as a secondary language, its future is uncertain. English speakers fall into three groups: those who have inherited it as their native language, those who have acquired it as their second language in a society that is largely bilingual, and those who have learned it as a necessary medium of their education or profession. In the entire world, one person in seven now belongs to one of these groups.

English is a Germanic language of the Indo-European language family. Scholars usually divide the Germanic languages into three subgroups: East (all these languages are now extinct); North (the Scandinavian languages); and West. English is in the western group and is closely related to German, Frisian, and Netherlandic (Dutch and Flemish).

English is an analytic (i. e., relatively uninflected) language, whereas Proto-Indo-European, the ancestral tongue of most European, Iranian, and North Indian languages, is synthetic, or inflected. Over thousands of years, English has lost most of its inflexions, while other European languages have retained more of theirs. Indeed, English is the only European language in which adjectives have no distinctive endings, aside from determiners and endings denoting degrees of comparison.

The English language is spoken or read throughout the globe by the largest number of people in the world, for historical, political and eco-

nomic reasons; but it may also be true that English owes something of its wide appeal to qualities and characteristics inherent in the language itself. Since English seems likely to occupy an increasingly prominent place in international communication, it is worth pausing to inquire into its qualifications for so important a mission. We may assume without argument that it shares with other highly developed languages of Europe the ability to express the multiplicity of ideas and the refinements of thought that demand expression in our modern civilization. What are these qualities or characteristic features, which outstand in making the English language what it is, which give it its individuality and make it of this world-wide significance? To attain a completely objective view of one's language is no simple matter. But it is easy to sum up some of the more obvious of these, which are the following.

Cosmopolitan Vocabulary. First and most important is its extraordinary receptive and adaptable heterogeneousness — the varied ease and readiness with which it has taken to itself material from almost everywhere in the world and has made the new elements of language its own. English, which when the Anglo-Saxons first conquered England in the 5th and 6th centuries was almost a 'pure' or unmixed language — which could make new words for new ideas from its own compounded elements and had hardly any foreign words — has become the most 'mixed' of languages, having elements with ease and assimilated them all to its own character. Though its copiousness of vocabulary is outstanding, it is its amazing variety and heterogeneousness, which is even more striking, and this general receptiveness of new elements has contributed to making it a suitable and attractive vehicle in so many parts of the world. Prominent among the assets of the English language must be considered the mixed character of its vocabulary. The feature, openness of vocabulary, allows English to admit words freely from other languages and to create

compounds and derivatives. As English is classified as a Germanic language, it belongs to the group of languages, to which German, Dutch, Flemish, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian also belong. It shares with these languages similar grammatical structure and many common words. On the other hand, more than half of its vocabulary is derived from Latin. Some of these borrowings have been direct, a great many through French, some through the other Romance languages. As a result, English also shares a great number of words with those languages of Europe which are derived from Latin, notably French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. All this means that English presents a somewhat familiar appearance to anyone who speaks either a Germanic or a Romance language. There are parts of the language which he feels he does not have to learn, or learns with little effort. To a lesser extent the English vocabulary contains borrowings from many other languages. Instead of making new words chiefly by the combination of existing elements, as German does, English has showed a marked tendency to go outside her own linguistic resources and borrow from other languages. In the course of centuries of this practice English has built up an unusual capacity for assimilating outside elements. We do not feel that there is anything 'foreign' about the words chipmunk, hominy, moose, raccoon, skunk, all of which we have borrowed from the American Indian. We are not conscious that the words brandy, cruller, golf, duck, isinglass, measles, selvage, wagon, uproar are from Dutch. And so are many other words in daily use from Italian: balcony, canto, duet, opera, piano, umbrella, volcano; from Spanish: cargo, cork, hammock, mosquito, tornado; from Greek: acrobat, magic, catastrophe, elastic; from Russian: vodka, steppe, ruble; from Persian: shawl, caravan, khaki mogul, paradise, check, chess turban. The examination of any good etymological dictionary will show that English has borrowed from Hebrew, Arabic, Hungarian, Hindi, Bengali, Malay,

Chinese, Japanese, the languages of Java, Australia, Tahiti, Polynesia, West Africa, and from one of the aboriginal languages of Brazil. And it has assimilated these heterogeneous elements so successfully that only the professional student of language is aware of their origin. So cosmopolitan a vocabulary is an undoubted asset to any language that seeks to attain international use.

Another vocabulary characteristic is flexibility of function. This means that one word can function as various parts of speech in different contexts. For example, the word 'book' can be an adjective in 'book review', a noun in 'read a book', or a verb in 'book a room'. Because other European languages retain more inflectional endings than does English, they almost never has this characteristic.

Inflectional Simplicity. A second outstanding characteristic of English is that English possesses to a preeminent degree of inflectional simplicity. Its simplicity of inflexion means the ease with which it indicates the relationship of words in a sentence with only the minimum of change in their shapes or variation of endings. The consequence of the loss or reduction to the minimum of the inflexions, which English once had, is the growth of the use of periphrases or roundabout ways of saying things, and of the use of prepositions to take the place of the lost inflexions. The English simplified verb uses periphrases and compound tenses made with auxiliary verbs to replace the more elaborate system of tenses that once existed (though tenses had clearly become fairly simple before the Anglo-Saxons came to England). Similarly, English, which, once had nearly as many case-endings as Latin, has come to use prepositions instead of these, as can easily be seen if one translates any piece of Latin into English. There are languages such as Chinese, that have surpasses English in the reduction of the language in the matter of inflexions to what looks like just a series of fixed monosyllabic roots: but among European

languages, taken as a whole, English has gone as far as any in reducing the inflexions it once had to a minimum. A natural consequence of this simplifying of inflexion by reduction, however, is that since the relationship of words to each other is no longer made clear by their endings, this must be done in other ways. The evolution of language, at least within the historical period, is a story of progressive simplification. So that simplification is the law of development in all languages, and has influenced more or less all the European languages. And this process of simplification in the English language was carried further and proceeded faster in England than elsewhere is not, however, due to any special enlightenment or advance of civilization in the English nation. That is to say, in this process of simplification English has gone further than any other language in Europe. The further back we go in the study of the languages to which English is most allied, the more complex we find them. Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, for example, as classical languages of early date, have inflexions of the noun, the adjective, the verb, and to some extent the pronoun that are no longer found in Russian or French or German. Inflexions in the noun as spoken have been reduced to a sign of the plural and a form for the possessive case. The elaborate Germanic inflexion of the adjective has been completely eliminated except for the simple indication of the comparative and the superlative degrees. The verb has been simplified by the loss of practically all the personal endings, the almost complete abandonment of any distinction between the singular and the plural, and the gradual discard of the subjunctive mood. The complicated agreements that make German difficult for the foreigner are absent from English. However compensated for, such a reduction of inflexions can hardly be considered anything but an advance. Because of its lack of inflexion, English is an analytic language.

***Fixed Word Order*.** A third quality of English, therefore, is

its relatively fixed word order. An inflected language like Latin or Russian can afford to be fairly free in the arrangement of its words, since the inflexions showed clearly the proper relationship in the sentence significance, the order of the words is likely to be relatively fixed; and a fixed word order in relation to meaning in the sentence takes the place of the freedom made possibility by the system of inflexions. Since English has lost a great amount of inflexions, expressive relationship in meaning requires systematic sentence structure or word order. Therefore, syntactic rules determine the correct order of words in a sentence. The words of a sentence can be divided into two or more groups, and within each group the words can be divided into subgroups, and so on, until only single words remain. This is called a constituent structure tree. The 'tree' is upside down with the 'root' at the top and the 'leaves' at the bottom. At each point where the tree 'branches', there is a group of words that form a part of structural constituent of the sentence. At the bottom of the tree are the individual words or morphemes. In addition to revealing linear order, a constituent structure tree has hierarchical structure. This expression means that the groups and subgroups of words composing the structural constituents are showed by the level on which they appear in the tree. Constituent structure trees can represent all the sentences in English, which explicitly and logically reflect such knowledge of grammar.

Every language has sentences that include a Subject, and Object, and a Verb, although some sentences do not have all three elements. There are six possible word order classes: SVO, VSO, SOV, OVS, OSV, VOS. English has the word order of SVO. The order of other sentence constituents in a language is most frequently correlated with the language type. If a language is of a type in which the Verb precedes the Object — a 'VO' language, which includes SVO, VSO, or VOS — then the Auxiliary Verb tends to precede the Verb, Adverb tends to follow the

Verb, and Prepositions tend to precede the Noun, among other such ordering relationships. English exhibits all these tendencies. (It must be emphasized that the correlations between language type and the word order of various constituents in sentences are 'tendencies,' not inviolable rules, and different languages follow them to a greater or lesser degree.)

Natural Gender. A fourth quality of English is that English enjoys an exceptional advantage over all other major European languages in having adopted natural in place of grammatical gender. In studying other European languages the student labors under the heavy burden of memorizing, along with the meaning of every noun, its gender. In the Romance languages, for example, there are only two genders, and all nouns, which would be neuter in English are there masculine or feminine. Some help in these languages is afforded by distinctive endings, which at times characterize the two classes. But even this aid is lacking in the Germanic languages, where the distribution of the three genders appears to the English student to be quite arbitrary. Thus in German some (sun) is feminine, mond (moon) is masculine, but kind (child), madchen (maiden), and weib (wife) are neuter. This distinction must be constantly kept in mind, since it not only affects the reference of pronouns but also determines the form of inflexion and the agreement of adjectives. In the English language all this was stripped away during the Middle English period, and today the gender of every noun in the dictionary is known instantly. Gender in English is determined by meaning. All nouns naming living creatures are masculine or feminine according to the sex of the individual, and all other nouns are neuter. Attributive gender, as when we speak of a ship as feminine, sun and moon as masculine or feminine, is personification and a matter of rhetoric, not grammar.

Varieties Of Intonation. In the fifth place, new varieties of intonation express shades of meaning, which were formerly indicated by

varying the shapes of words. This is perhaps somewhat comparable (though only in a small way) to the vast use of intonation in Chinese as a method of expressing meaning in sentences which would otherwise be seen like series of unvarying monosyllabic roots. Consider, for instance, the wonderful variety of shades of meaning we may put into the use of the word 'do', merely by varying the intonation — that is the pitch and intensity, the tone of the voice.

***Stereotyped Expression*.** However, not all the above qualities are in themselves necessarily good, nor have they all contributed to the general success of English. It seems probable that of them all it is the adaptable receptiveness and the simplicity of inflexion that have done most in this regard. The above five features just described are undoubtedly of great advantage in facilitating the acquisition of English by foreigners. On the other hand, it is equally important to recognize the difficulties, which the foreign student encounters in learning English. One of these difficulties is the result of that very simplification of inflexions, which we have considered among the assets of English. It is the difficulty, of which foreigners often complain, of expressing themselves not only logically but also idiomatically. An idiom is a form of expression peculiar to one language, and English is not alone in possessing such individual forms of expression. All languages have their special ways of saying things. Thus a German says 'für ein Mann' (what for a man) where in English we say 'what kind of man'; the French say 'il fait froid' (it makes cold) where we say 'it is cold'. The French visitor who had learned the English idiom 'to press a person to do something' was making a natural mistake when he said 'Can we not squeeze the young lady to sing?' His substitution was in a way logical but not idiomatic. Languages with a minimum of inflexion are very likely to depend more than others on stereotyped expressions or idioms. Their mastery depends largely on memory. The distinc-

tion between 'My husband isn't up yet' and 'My husband isn't down yet', or the quite contradictory use of the word 'fast' in 'go fast' and 'stand fast' seems to the foreigner to be without reasonable justification. It is doubtful whether such idiomatic expressions are so much commoner in English than in other languages — for example, French — as those learning English believe, but they undoubtedly bulk large in the mind of foreigners.

***Disagreement Of Spelling And Pronunciation*.** A more serious criticism of English by those attempting to master it is the chaotic of English spelling and the frequent lack of correlation between spelling and pronunciation. Writing is merely a mechanical means of recording speech. And theoretically the most adequate system of spelling is that which best combines simplicity with consistency. In alphabetic writing an ideal system would be one in which the same sound was regularly represented by the same character and a given character always represented the same sound. None of the European languages fully attains this high ideal, although many of them, such as Italian or German, come far nearer to it than English. In English the vowel sound in 'believe, receive, leave, machine, be, see,' is in each case represented by a different spelling. Conversely the symbol 'a' in 'father, hate, hat', and many other words has nearly a score of values. The situation is even more confusing in the treatment of the consonants. We have fourteen spellings for the sound of 'sh': shoe, sugar, issue, mansion, mission, nation, suspicion, ocean, nauseous, conscious, chaperon, schist, fuchsia, pshaw. And although the 's' and 'ss' of 'mansion' and 'mission' are really the same as in sugar and issue, there remain a full dozen completely different spellings to testify to the lack of uniformity. This is an extreme case, but there are many others only less disturbing, and it serves to show how far we are at times from approaching the ideal of simplicity and consistency.

Because of this diversity, the Englis-speaking child undoubtedly wastes much time during the early years of his education in learning to spell his own language, and to the foreigner the spelling is appallingly difficult. To be sure, it is not without its defenders. There are those who lay stress on the useful way in which the spelling of an English word often indicates its etymology. Again, a distinguished French scholar has urged that since we have preserved in thousands of borrowed words the spelling, which those words have in their original language, the foreigner is thereby enabled more easily to recognize the word. It has been further suggested that the more very looseness of our orthography makes the less noticeable in the written language the dialectal differences are. And recently some phonologists have argued that this looseness permits an economy in representing words that contain predictable phonetic alternates of the same morphemes (e.g., divine, divinity; crime, criminal). But in spite of these considerations, each of which is open to serious criticism, it seems as though some improvement might be effected without sacrificing completely the advantages claimed. That such improvement has often felt to be desirable is evident from the number of occasions on which attempts at reform have been made. In the early part of the present century a movement was launched, later supported by Theodore Roosevelt and other influential men, to bring about a moderate degree of simplification. It was suggested that since we wrote 'has' and 'had' we could just as well write 'hav' instead of 'have', and in the same way 'ar' and 'wer' since we wrote 'is' and 'was'. But though logically sound, these spellings seemed strange to the eye, and the advantage to be gained from the proposed simplifications was not sufficient to overcome human conservatism or indifference or force of habit. It remains to be seen whether the extension of English in the future will someday compel us to consider the reform of our spelling from an impersonal and, indeed, international point of view. For

the present, at least, we do not seem to be ready for simplified spelling.

***Other Difficulties*.** Besides, the very copiousness and heterogeneousness of English leads to vagueness or lack of clarity. Its resources are too vast for all but the well educated to use to full advantage; and such phenomena as 'pidgin English', 'journalese' jargon, woolliness of expression and slatternly speech and writing, are everywhere likely to be met with. It may fairly be said that English is among the easiest languages to speak badly, but the most difficult to use well.

The preeminence of English is not, however, due to any special excellence of Grammar or structure. In fact, English is often considered a difficult language to learn because of its many irregularities or exceptions to the rules. The past tense of 'bite' is 'bit', for example, but the past tense of 'sit' is 'sat', and so on. English has a larger vocabulary than any other language; and because it is the world language, words newly coined or in vogue in one language are very often added to English as well. Thus present-day speakers of English have become managers of a sort of international clearinghouse for words, while remaining guardians or their own mother tongue with its great history and traditions.

***Standard English*.** The spoken standard or, as it is sometimes called, the 'received standard', is something that varies in different parts of the English-speaking world. In England it is a type of English perhaps best exemplified in the speech of those educated in the great public schools, but spoken also with a fair degree of uniformity by cultivated people in all parts of the country. It is a class rather than a regional dialect. This is not the same as the spoken standard of the United States or Canada or Australia. Each of these is entitled to recognition. The spread of English to many parts of the world has changed our conception of what constitutes Standard English. The speech of English can no longer be considered the norm by which all others must be judged. The growth of

countries like the United States and Canada and the political independence of countries that were once British colonies force us to admit that the educated speech of these vast areas is just as 'standard' as that of London or Oxford. The hope is sometimes expressed that we might have a world standard, which all parts of the English-speaking world can understand. So far as the spoken language is concerned it is too much to expect that the marked differences of pronunciation that distinguish the speech of, let us say, England, Australia, India, and the United States will ever be reduced to one uniform mode. We must recognize that in the last two hundred years English has become a cosmopolitan tongue and must cultivate a cosmopolitan attitude toward its various standard forms.

2. Grammar
第二节 语法

导读：

英语语法与其他欧洲语言相比，可谓简单易学。口语语法较为松散；而书面语语法较为严谨。但是，要掌握全部语法规则却不大可能，因为英语例外的特殊用法实在太多，其中有词法方面的，也有句法方面的。从 18 世纪以来，语法家们便开始研究英语语法，写出了他们认为是正确用法的英语语法规则。时至今日，当代语法家也一直在努力解释英语语法现象。有的语法家从英语实际使用当中，来研究这一语言现象与那一语言现象的共性与差异，从而找出规律性的东西定为规则。另外一些语法家则根据惯用法，来提倡和肯定语法规则。然而，在实际的英语语言的教与学过程中，人们对英语语法的态度往往是二者兼并：一方面帮助英语学习者对英语语言现象认同与接受；另一方面培养学习者分析英语语言的能力。对于非英语母语的成人英语学习者来

说，学习语法是学习英语的必经之途，学会语法则是学会英语的必然结果。

Knowing Grammar. One of the most widespread fallacies about the English language, especially in its spoken form, is that there is no grammar worth bothering about. But people ask foreigners who have been struggling with the language for years, and they we will tell them the opposite. "I don't think I shall ever master all the rules of English grammar", said one. "So many exceptions, so many tiny changes in word order which make all the difference to what you are trying to say", said another, gloomily.

There are two reasons why people are contemptuous of English grammar. First, there'is the influence of Latin. For centuries, the Latin language ruled the grammar-teaching world. People had to know Latin to be accepted in educated society, and their knowledge of grammar was based on how that language works. Here is the famous verb that started millions of schoolchildren on their Latin-learning road.

Latin	English
amo	I love
amas	You love
amat	He/She loves
amamus	We love
amatis	You love
amant	They love

When people start to analyze English grammar in the 18th century, it seemed logical to look at the language using the terms and distinctions, which had proved so useful in studying Latin. English had no word-endings, it seemed. Therefore, it had no 'grammar'. But of course there is far more to grammar than word-endings. Some languages (such as Chi-

nese) have none at all. English has less than a dozen types of regular ending (and a few irregular ones):

the plural -s	the girl — the girls
the genitive -'s or -s', marking such meanings as possession	the boy's bike; the boys' bikes
the past tense -ed	I walk — I walked
the past participle -ed	I walk — I have walked
the third person singular of the present tense, -s	I run — He runs
the verb ending which marks such meanings as duration, -ing	She laughs — She is laughing
the negative -n't	He is — He isn't
the comparative -er	big — bigger
the superlative -est	big — bigger
the shortened form of some verbs, 'll, 're, etc.	I'll leave

Among the exceptions are certain nouns and adjectives, such as mice, men, better and worst, and about 300 irregular verbs, such as gone, taken, saw, and ran.

But these endings, whether regular or irregular, make up only a fraction of the grammar of modern English. The language makes very little use of word structure, or morphology, to express the meanings that Latin conveys in its word-endings. Most of English grammar is taken up with the rules governing the order, in which words can appear, the field of syntax. Word order is crucial for English, as we can see from following examples, where the meaning of the structure alters dramatically once the order varies:

Dog bites postman v. Postman bites dog

They are here v. Are they here?

Only I kissed Joan v. I kissed only Joan

Naturally I got up v. I got up naturally (not awkwardly)

Show me the last three pages (of the book) v. Show me the three last pages (of three books)

There are also many complex constructions, such as the use of respectively, which enables us to say several things at once in an economical way:

John, Tom, and Peter play tennis, baseball, and football respectively.

And there are thousands of rules forbidding us to put words in a certain order. Mother-tongue speakers never think twice about them, because they learned these rules as children. But the rules are there, none the less, making us use the first of the following alternatives, not the second (the asterisk shows that the sentence is unacceptable):

I walked to town	* I to town walked
Hardly had I left…	* Hardly I had left
That's a fine old house	* That's an old fine house
John and I saw her	* I and John saw her
She switched it on	* She switched on it

Mother-tongue speakers instinctively know that the first is correct and the second is not. But explaining why this is so to anyone who asks (such as a foreign learner) is a specialist skill indeed.

Grammar In Speech And Writing. There is a second reason for the way people readily dismiss grammar: the widespread feeling that only the written language is worth bothering about, and that spoken English has 'less' grammar because it does not 'follow the rules' that are found in writing. A surprisingly large number of people who have spoken

English since they were children are willing to admit that they 'don't speak English correctly' or claim that 'foreigners speak better English than we do, because they've leaned the rules'. There is something seriously amiss here, if mother-tongue speakers can be made to feel they are wrong, and foreign learners are right. Certainly, foreigner are often mystifies by this reaction when they hear it.

There are indeed many differences between the way grammar is used in writing English and the way it is used in speaking it. This is only natural. When we are writing, we usually have time to make notes, plan ahead, pause, reflect, change our mind, start again, revise, proofread, and generally polish the language until we have reached a level, which satisfies us. The reader sees only the finished product.

But in every conversation (which is a kind of spoken language we engage in most of the time) there is no time for such things to happen. As we begin a conversation, or start to tell a story, we are saying it. We do not have the time or opportunity to plan what we want to say, and we have to allow for false starts, interruptions, second thoughts, words on the tip of the tongue, and a host of other disturbances which take place while we are in full flow.

Naturally, in such circumstances, we make use of all kinds of grammatical features that wouldn't be necessary in writing — in particular, parenthetic phrases such as 'you know', 'you see', 'I mean', and 'mind you'. We make great use of 'and' and 'but' to join sentences together — a feature of style which is often criticized when it appears in writing, but which is extremely widespread in speech, as this extract from a conversation shows ('/' marks a break in the rhythm of the speech, ' – ' marks a pause):

It's not a select shopping center by any means/ and there're lots of

– council houses/ and flats/ and – em – I mean I think it's fantastic/ because you can go up there/ and they're very nice – looking flats and everything/ it's – it's been fairly well designed/ – and you can go up there/ and and shop reasonably/ – but – at the same time/ just where we're living/ there's a sort of sprinkling/ of of little delicatessens/ and extravagant and extraordinarily expensive shops/ you see/ and very expensive cleaners etcetera/ – and I've been doing little surveys/ of the area/ and and looking/ you know …

This kind of speech looks weird in print, because it is not possible to show all the melody, stress, and tone of voice, which made the speaker (a woman in her early twenties) sound perfectly natural in context. But it does show how spoken grammar differs from written. It would be possible to reduce the extract to a more compact, economical style, like the following (it uses 40 per cent fewer words), but the language immediately becomes more controlled, formal and abrupt, and it simply would not sound right in everyday speech.

It's not a select shopping center, by any means, but I think it's fantastic, because you can go up there and shop reasonably. There're lots of fairly well-designed council houses and very nice-looking flats. Just where we're living, there's a sprinkling of delicatessens and extravagant, extraordinarily expensive shops, cleaners, etcetera. I've been doing little survey of the area, and looking …

It's important not to overestimate the differences between speech and writing, though. Probably over 95 per cent of the grammatical constructions in English appear in both spoken and written expression. All the examples above could be used quite acceptably in either. And of course

there are many styles of language use where the boundary between speech and writing almost disappears — as when people write material to be read aloud (as in radio plays and news broadcasts) or speak spontaneously so that what they say can be written down (as in dictation or teaching). The conclusion is clear: spoken English may be different, but it certainly does not lack grammatical structure.

In any account of the varieties of English, special attention has to be paid to the fundamental differences that distinguish spoken from written varieties of the language. The contrast goes deeper than the superficial difference between the use of sounds and the use of graphic symbols. Grammar and vocabulary differ too, sometimes in quite radical ways. The contrast is most noticeable when a formal written style is compared to everyday conversation.

Conversational language is often inexplicit, because the participants are face-to-face, and can rely on the situation to clear up any problems of meaning. Phrases such as 'that one over there' are regularly found in speech, but their output is read, so they must aim to make their language sufficiently clear and precise that it can be interpreted on its own.

Conversation is usually spontaneous; speakers have to 'think standing up'. They therefore do not have the time to plan out what they want to say, and their grammar is inevitably loosely constructed, often containing rephrasing and repetition. Sentences lack the intricate structure often found in writing. Lengthy sequences can be heard, linked only by 'and'. Phrases such as 'you know', 'I mean', or 'you see' are common in speech, but not in writing.

The vocabulary of everyday speech tends to be informal, domestic and more limited than in writing. There is a much greater likelihood of slang and taboo words being used, as well as empty nonsense words such as 'thingummajig' and 'whatchamacallit', which would never be found

in writing. Conversely, writing tends to make greater use of vocabulary whose meaning is precise. Writers can ponder a while, and look a word up before they write it. This option isn't usually available to speakers.

The interactive nature of conversation requires a great deal of 'manoeuving' which would not usually be found in writing unless an author were trying to portray speech. There are special ways of opening a conversation 'Excuse me' …; of checking that the listener is following 'Are you with me?' …; of changing a topic 'That reminds me …', and 'By the way, …; and ending "nice talking with you' … Such strategies are unnecessary in writing, which has its own ways of organizing the exposition of a text (e.g. prefaces, summaries, indexes, sub-headings, and cross-reference conventions).

Conversation can use a wide range of tones of voice, which are difficult to convey in writing apart from through the use of a few typographical effects and punctuation marks. On the other hand, writing has a wide range of graphic features that do not exist in speech such as color, layout, and capitalization. There are many local sound effects which cannot be satisfactorily written down cannot easily be spoken such as train timetables, graphs, and formulae.

Written language is usually much more permanent and formal than speech. Because of its permanence, it also has a special status, being used where it is necessary to make something legally binding as in contracts or to provide a means of identity or authority as in the sacred literature of a religious tradition. Because of its formality, it is more likely to be used to provide the standard which society values. Our speech is frequently judged by the standards of the written language.

Knowing About Grammar. It is said that when you learn a language, you do not need to know any grammatically terminology. That language teaching method is an oral approach; students there will not be

spending time learning English rules by heart and then trying to turn these rules into spontaneous speech (the 'Oh dear, how can I say anything if I can't remember my irregular verbs' problem). The hope is that, by giving the students lots of time to practice speaking, they will 'pick up' the right forms of expression, and gradually develop a sense of what the rules are — without anyone formally having to tell them.

This method of language learning can work. Little children, after all, do it all the time. They follow a gradual process of trial and error, and never get bogged down in wondering what an irregular verb is. However, whether the same approach words for adults is currently controversial. Instructors can often help adults by having a rule of grammar explained to them, rather than having to work it out for themselves. It's often a lot quicker than the trial and error technique, which can easily take great deal of time. On the other hand, too much grammar work can kill any enthusiasm for language learning, as many people well remember from their school days.

The English language has suffered badly at the hands of the grammarians over the centuries. Many people have left school with the impression that English grammar is a dull, boring, pointless subject, simply because it was presented to them in a dull, boring and pointless way. They may even say that they don't know any grammar, or (as already noted) that they don't know the correct grammar. They feel insecure and defensive. Something is wrong when this happens.

The origins of the problem lie in the 18th century, when the first grammars of English were written. The grammarians shared the spirit of that age to establish order in the language, after what they saw as a chaotic period of expansion and experiment. Shakespeare and his contemporaries had added thousands of new words and usages to the language. The new dictionary-writers and some grammarians felt it was their responsibili-

ty to sort out what had happened.

From the 1760s, grammarians such as Robert Lowth and Lindley Murray laid down rules, which they thought should govern correct grammatical usage. This is the period when the rules were first formulated about such matters as saying 'I shall rather' than 'I will', preferring 'It is I' to 'It is me', avoiding a 'double negative' (I don't have no interest in the matter), never ending splitting an infinitive (I want to really try). The early usage came to be built up, which was then taught in public schools during the 19th century, and later in all schools. Many generations of schoolchildren learned how to analyze a sentence into 'subject', 'predicate', and so on. They learned to label the different parts of speech (nouns, verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.). And they learned about correct usage, as viewed by educated society, and tried to follow it in their own speech and writing. They were left in no doubt that failure to speak or write correctly would lead in the long term to social criticism and reduced career prospects — and in the short term to a more immediate form of suffering. As one correspondent to the BBC series English Now wrote: The reason why the older generation feels so strongly about English Grammar is that we were severely punished if we didn't obey the rules! One split infinitive, one whack; two split infinitives, two whacks; and so on.

But from the very beginning, people saw problems with this approach. Even in the 18th century, critics such as Joseph Priestley were arguing that it was impossible to reduce all the variation in a language to a single set of simple rules. No language was perfectly neat and regular. There were always variations in usage, which reflected variations in society, or individual patterns of emphasis. There would always be exceptions too: there are double negatives in Chaucer, Lord Macaulay split an infinitive on occasion, and one does not have to look far to find Shakespeare

ending a sentence with a preposition:

Who would these fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscovered country, from whose bourn
No traveler returns, puzzles the will,
And makes us rather bear those ills we have.
That fly to others that we know not of?

Hamlet, III, I

The controversy continues to this day. People still argue over whether grammar should be approached from a descriptive or a prescriptive point of view. In the descriptive approach, the analyst gathers information about the way English is used, and tries to understand why such variation exists, and the different effects that come from choosing one construction rather than another. In the prescriptive approach, there is no such weighing of the evidence: one construction is considered to be a sign of educated speech or writing, and is recommended for use; the other is considered uneducated, and banned. These days, there are signs of a compromising position being worked out, as far as school teaching is concerned. Educators are trying to get learners to develop a sense of the variations, which exist in English, at the same time pointing out the value of learning those styles, which carry extra prestige within society.

But whichever approach is used, it is going to be necessary to 'talk about' English grammar. Whether we take the view that all styles of English have their value, or wish to condemn all but the 'best' forms of Standard English, or wish to develop a compromise, we will need some terms for talking about the sentence patterns, which are at issue. This part has been no exception. I have used some familiar technical terms, such as 'word-ending', 'word order', 'sentence' and 'verb', as well

as a few specialized terms, such as 'genitive' and 'infinitive'. A bit of basic terminology is essential to understand the English language, in just the same way that it is needed to understand chemistry, geography, or any other area of knowledge.

Everyone reading this book knows English grammar. They understand the sentence patterns, and could use them. But not everyone knows about grammar, so that they could analyze these sentence patterns into their parts, and give them such labels as 'subject' and 'object', or noun and preposition. This is the knowledge, which has to be learned specially, as an intellectual skill. Whether in school or beyond, the teacher's task is to devise ways of making this learning interesting and enjoyable, so that the language is enlivened by the study of grammar, and not strangled. It is a problem, which has still not been entirely solved.

Inflectional And Non-inflectional Elements. Modern English nouns, pronouns, and verbs are inflected; but adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections are not. Most English nouns have the plural inflection, but seven have mutated (umlauted) plurals, (e.g., man, men); three have plural ending in -en (e.g., ox, oxen), and some remain unchanged (e.g., deer). Five of the seven personal pronouns have separate forms for subject and object. English verbs have only four forms, strong verbs have five, and 'to be' has eight. Some verbs ending in 't' or 'd' have only three forms.

Syntax Features. Sentence can be classified as simple; multiple, or compound; and complex. Simple declarative, affirmative sentences fall into two main groups, each with five subsidiary patterns. The first group consists of a subject, a verb, and a complement, the verb and the complement being the variables. The five patterns of this group are a subject followed by (1) a transitive verb and a direct object; (2) a meaningless copula, such as 'is', followed by the predicative noun; (3)

a meaningful copula such as 'becomes' with a predicative noun (4) a verb and a predicative adjective; and (5) a verb with a predicative past participle. If one changes the word order in any of these 10 patterns, without adding or subtracting a word, one almost always changes the meaning of the sentence.

The syntax rules governing adjectives are not as strict as those governing nouns and verbs. When more than one adjective describes a noun, the adjectives are arranged in the following order: determiner; quantifier; adjective of quality; adjective of size, shape, or texture adjective of color or material; noun adjunct head noun. Adverbs are normally more mobile than adjectives, with only tentative principles at work. As their etymology implies, prepositions usually precede nouns, but there are a few exceptions, e.g., 'the whole world over'. Because of the laxity of syntax principles, English is a very easy language to speak poorly.

Syntax And The Noun. This part permits a brief touching upon a few of the more outstanding features in the development of the syntax of the English parts of speech. Yet it should be remembered that for the full appreciation of the living language in all its aspects, knowledge of its history is always likely to be helpful. On the other hand we cannot handle the full syntax of today's English. It will merely suffice here to indicate some of the more significant points, emphasizing rather the diachronic approach.

In the noun, only two cases have remained out of the four of Old English. The functions, nevertheless, of these cases still have to be fulfilled; and this is done by means of such aside as the wider use of prepositions and a more rigid word order. Modern English has a Common Case, which expresses the functions of both the old Nominative and Accusative; and the very same form of the noun is also used for the old Dative (though here a preposition often has to be called in to avoid that ambiguity which

is always more likely in a language with but few inflexions). In the sentence 'He told me a lie', Old English would have used a distinctive Dative form for 'man' and another (the accusative) for 'lie'. But Modern English uses the same form of 'man' or 'lie' for the functions of Nominative, Dative or Accusative. But in the sentence 'He hit the man on the head', even Modern English must have a means of avoiding the ambiguity caused by the fact that there are no separate forms for Nominative, Dative and Accusative. Old English would have here put 'man' in the Dative, and 'head' in the Accusative, with no preposition. The one distinctive case remaining in Modern English is the Possessive or Genitive. But even this, distinguished by the ending -s, can for the most part in the spoken language only be used of personal or animate nouns. We say 'John's book', but hardly 'the table's top'. For such purposes as that of the last phrase we normally call in the aid of the preposition of 'the top of the table'. The use of 'of' in Middle English spread, as the distinctive Genitive ending became less frequent: and this was perhaps helped by the somewhat parallel use of 'de' by the conquering French. So we now say 'the wall of the house', and not 'the house's wall'. Word order makes all clear in the sentence 'He gave the king a book', and it would be not right in English to say 'He gave a book the king.'

Syntax And The Adjective. Adjectives have lost all their distinctive case-forms as well as the separation of singular from plural, which nouns still retain. Hence it is the word order that must, with the aid of prepositions, indicate the function of an adjective in the sentence. Old English distinguished in the adjective, not only between singular and plural, but also four (sometimes five) cases, as well as special forms to show whether the adjective was attributive or predicative. 'The good man' and 'the man is good' would have had different forms for 'good'.

Syntax And The Personal Pronoun. Personal pronouns

have changed less in the matter of case-function since Old English times. Already 'me' did duty for both Accusative and Dative, as it does in Modern English, for instance. Similarly with 'thee' 'Him' has performed both functions since the 14th century. But in the second person plural, the Accusative form 'you' (Old English 'eow') has replaced the Nominative 'ye' (Old English 'eg'); so that this pronoun has only the one form 'you' for all cases. Furthermore, this plural pronoun has throughout come except in poetry and religious usage and in some dialects to replace the singular: so that 'you' is now both singular and plural. It performs the functions of 'thou' and 'thee' as well as those of 'ye'. It has been remarked earlier that the Scandinavian forms 'they', 'their', and 'them' replaced the English forms in the Middle English period. But an exception to this is the survival of the native form in the colloquial 'em' which was in far wider use even for literary purposes until comparatively recently. This 'em' descends from Chaucer's form 'hem', with the 'h' dropped through lack of stress just as in 'it' the 'h' of the Old English 'hit' dell out of use for the same reason.

***Syntax And The Verb*.** In the verb, the chief change has been in word order — the entire cessation of the Old English practice of placing it normally at the end of the sentence. Old English treated the verb in this matter of position in the sentence much as German still does. This putting of the verb at the end of the sentence seems to have been the original Indo-European order. But so often in colloquial speech one adds a word or two after a sentence has been completed; as, for instance, in 'He came yesterday — the man I was telling you about' instead of the more carefully thought-out 'The man I was telling you about came yesterday'. This tendency was doubtless already present in late Old English, and to it we may add the danger of ambiguity or misunderstanding in a long sentence of which the verb only appears at the end. These and simi-

lar causes may have brought it about that the verb now stand as it does in the sentence. Emphasis and convenience have also played their part in change in the form of the verb — one which has produced a number of consequential changes — has been the virtual loss in Modern English of the Subjunctive Mood. Of course the two functions of the Old English subjunctive endings -e and -en — the expression of hypothesis and wish (properly respectively subjunctive and optative) — have continued in the language. It is only the morphological distinction, which has practically disappeared. In Old English the subjunctive was regularly used for reported speech on the authority of the speaker, for subordinate clauses of several kinds, for exhortation and for the expression of wish. But, during the Middle English period, with the loss in pronunciation of the weak verbal endings -e and -en, the subjunctive became mostly indistinguishable from the indicative: and it was natural that it should then gradually fall out of use except in certain stereotyped phrases and fixed formula of writing. This was possible because generally it was found that no serious ambiguity resulted from the falling together of the forms of the subjunctive and indicative in nearly all verbs except in the 3rd person singular. Forms like 'if I were you' and 'If it be possible' survive because the indicative and subjunctive forms did not fall together so closely in the verb to be: but such expressions as 'if he come' or 'had I been there' only survive in more solemn, formal or poetic usage. Colloquially we should naturally say, for the last two examples, 'if he comes' and 'if I had been there'. But the expression of wish, belief, etc., the originally optative form of the verb, which already in Old English had come to be a subjunctive as well, could not be always expressed without ambiguity after the loss of the distinctive subjunctive forms.

Syntax And The Relative Pronoun. The development of the relative pronoun deserves special mention. Leaving aside some Old

English methods of expressing the relative, which have left no trace upon the language, 'that' is the oldest relative pronoun in the language that exists. It was, as a relative, a sort of particle or indeclinable word. It was in common use till the Renaissance, when the newer 'who' came for a time to be preferred for its function in the written language, partly owing to its similarity to Latin usage (where the relative and the interrogative pronouns have mostly identical forms). The form 'who' was in earlier times the regular interrogative. But, to avoid the ambiguity often arising through the absence of case-distinctions in the properly relative 'that', by Chaucer's time the Genitive 'whose' and Dative 'whom' came occasionally to be substituted for 'that': and then later the tendency spread to the Nominative, and 'who' came to be used beside 'that'. Thus from the 16th century, 'who' was at the same time both an interrogative pronoun and a relative. Side by side with the development of the interrogative pronoun 'who' into a relative, the originally interrogative adjective 'which' came to be used as a parallel relative also and in the 16th century we find 'who' and 'which' employed as alternative relative pronouns in literature, while the old 'that' continued in full colloquial practice.

Complaints And Answers About Grammar. In a survey of letter sent in the BBC radio series English Now in 1986, the following ten points of grammar were the ones about which listeners most often complained.

(1) Complaint: 'I' shouldn't be used in between 'you' and 'I'. The pronoun should be 'me' after a preposition, as in 'Give it to me'.

Comment: This is true; but many people are unconsciously aware of the way grammars have criticized 'me' in other constructions, recommending 'It is I' or 'He's bigger than I' as a correct form. As a result they begin to use it in places where

it wouldn't normally go.

(2) Complaint: 'Split infinitive' should be avoided, as in 'to boldly go'.

Comment: Grammars have long objected to the way an adverb can be used to separate to form a verb; but there are many cases where alternatives seem artificial, as in 'I want you to really try', where 'really to try' and 'to try really' are very awkward, and 'I really want' means something different.

(3) Complaint: 'Only' should be next to the word to which it related; people shouldn't say 'I only saw Fred' when they mean 'I saw only Fred'.

Comment: The context usually makes it obvious which sense is intended. But it is wise to be careful in writing, where ambiguity can arise. Spoken usage is hardly ever ambiguous; 'only' is always linked with the next word that carries a strong stress. Note the difference between 'I only saw FRED' (and no one else) and 'I only SAW Fred' (I didn't talk to him).

(4) Complaint: None should never be followed by a plural verb, as in None of the cows are in the field.

Comment: It is argued that none is a singular form, and should therefore take a singular verb. But usage has been influenced by the plural meaning of noun, especially when followed by a plural noun: none of the cows are ill = 'they are not ill'.

(5) Complaint: 'Different(ly) should be followed by 'from' and not by 'to' or 'than'.

Comment: Grammarians were impressed by the meaning of the first syllable of this word in Latin: dis- = 'from'. But 'to' has come to be the more frequent British usage, perhaps because of the influence of 'similar to', 'opposed to', etc.

'Than' is frequent in American English, and is often objected to in Britain for that reason.

(6) Complaint: A sentence shouldn't end with a preposition.

Comment: This rule was first introduced in the 17th century, but it has been ignored, notably in recent years by Churchill, who found it something 'up with which he would not put'. In formal English, the rule trends to be followed; but in informal usage, final prepositions are normal. Compare the formal 'That is the man to whom I was talking' and informal 'That's the man I was talking to'.

(7) Complaint: People should say 'I shall/ you will/ he will' when they are referring to future time, not 'I will/ you shall/ he shall'.

Comment: There has been a tendency to replace 'shall' by 'will' for well over a century. It is now hardly ever used in American, Irish, or Scots English, and is becoming less common in other varieties. Usages such as 'I'll have some coffee' and 'I'll be thirty next week' are now in the majority.

(8) Complaint: 'Hopefully' should not be used at the beginning of a sentence, as in 'Hopefully, John will win his race'.

Comment: People argue that as it is the speaker, not John, who is being hopeful, a better construction would be 'It is hoped that …' or 'I hope that …' But 'hopefully' is one of hundreds of adverbs that are used in this way. 'frankly', 'naturally', 'fortunately', etc. It is unclear why 'hoepfully' has come to be criticized, whereas the others have not.

(9) Complaint: 'Whom' should be used, not 'who', in such sentences as 'That's the man whom you saw'.

Comment: As the pronoun is being used as the object of the

verb 'saw', this form is technically correct. But 'whom' is felt to be very formal and in informal speech people often replace it by 'who', or drop the pronoun altogether: 'That's the man you saw'.

(10) Complaint: Double negatives, as in 'He hasn't done nothing', should be avoided.

Comment: This construction is no longer acceptable in standard English (though is was normal in Middle English). However, it is extremely common on non-standard speech throughout the world . Note that in the non - standard use the two negatives don't cancel each other out, and 'make a positive' (as two minus signs would in mathematics); they make a more emphatic negative. 'He hasn't done nothing' does not mean 'He has done something'.

3. Vocabulary

第三节 词汇

导读:

英语词汇在英语语言演变中始终扮演着一个活跃的角色。无论在英语发展的哪一个阶段，英语从不中断地吸纳外来词，这已经成为英语的一大特点，并形成惯性。现代英语词汇总量是一个可变数，这与人们统计词汇量的指导思想有关。根据目前容纳词条最多的《牛津英语字典》（1989），英语共有615,000个词条。个人使用词汇的需要量也没有一个确定数，一般说来，受过良好教育的人需要15,000左右（仅供参考）。英语词汇的成分很复杂，它的构成与英语历史及英国社会发展有很大关系。除了小部分出自本族语以外，大部分词汇分别在英语发展的各个历史阶

段，来自拉丁语、希腊语、法语、其他欧洲语言以及世界各地的许多语言。大多数英语外来词多少反映了一个个社会发展状况。英语有着丰富的词汇，致使英语有着极强的表达能力。然而，表示基本概念和事物名称的词大多来自古英语。英语词汇的主要构词方法有：合成法、词缀法、省略法、首字母缩略法、混成法、转换法、逆序法等等。

***Size Of Vocabulary*.** How many words are there in English? This apparently simple little question turns out to be surprisingly complicated. Estimates have been given ranging from half a million to cover two million. Samuel Johnson's dictionary contained 43,000 words. *The Unabridged Random House* of 1987 has 315,000. *Webster's Third New International* of 1961 contains 450,000. And the revised *Oxford English Dictionary* of 1989 has 615,000 entries. In fact this only begins to hint at the total. It partly depends on what you count as English words, and partly on where you go looking for them.

For one thing, meanings in English are much more various than a bald court of entry words would indicate. The mouse that scurries across your kitchen floor and the mouse that activates your personal computer clearly are two quite separate entries. Shouldn't they then be counted as two words? And then what about related forms like 'mousy', 'mouse-like', and 'mice'? Shouldn't they also count as separate words? Surely there is a large difference between something that is a mouse and something that is merely mousy.

Consider the problems if someone asked you to count the number of words in English. You would immediately find thousands of cases where you would not be sure whether to count one word or two. In writing, it is often not clear whether something should be written as a single word, as two words, or hyphenated. Is it washing machine or washing-machine?

School children or schoolchildren? Flower pot or flower-pot or flowerpot? Would you count all the items beginning with foster as new words: foster brother, foster care, foster child, foster father, foster home etc.? Or would you treat them as combinations of old words: foster + brother, care, and so on? This is a big problem for the dictionary-makers, who reach different conclusions about what should be done.

What would you do with 'get at', 'get by', 'get in', 'get off', 'get over', and dozens of other cases where 'get' is used with an additional word? Would you count 'get' once, for all of these, or would you say that, because these items have different meanings (get at, for example, can mean 'nag'), they should be counted separately? In which case, what about 'get it'?, 'Get your own back', 'get your act together', and all the other 'idioms'? Would you say that these had to be counted separately too or would you count 'kick the bucket' (meaning 'die') as three familiar words or as a single idiom? It hardly seems sensible to count the words separately, for 'kick' here has nothing to do with moving the foot, not is 'bucket' a container.

If you let the meaning influence you (as it should), then you will find your word count growing very rapidly indeed. But as soon as you do this, you will start to worry about other meanings, even in single words. Is there a single meaning for 'high' in 'high tea', 'high priest' and 'high season'? Is the 'lock' on a door the same basic meaning as the 'lock on a canal'? Are such cases 'the same word with different meanings' or 'different words'? These are the daily decisions that any word-counter (or dictionary-compiler) must make. The fact is that dictionaries contain number of definitions, but the true number of meanings contained in those definitions will always be much higher.

Whose English do we count? The question arises about the kind of vocabulary to include in the count. There wouldn't be a difficulty if the

words were part of Standard English used by educated people throughout the English-speaking world. Obviously these have to be counted. But what about the vast numbers of words, which are not found everywhere — words which are restricted to a particular country (such as Canada, Britain, India, or Australia), or to a particular part of a country (such as Wales, Yorkshire or Liverpool)?

They will include words like 'stroller' (push-chair) and 'station' (stock farm) from Australia, 'back' (holiday cottage) and 'pakeha' (white person) from New Zealand, 'dorp' (village) and 'indaba' (conference) from South Africa, 'eisteddfod' (competitive arts festival) from Wales, 'faucet' (tap) and 'fall' (autumn) from North America, 'fortnight' (two weeks) and 'nappy' (baby wear) from Britain, 'loch' (lake) and 'wee' (small) from Scotland, 'dunny' (money) and 'duppy' (ghost) from Jamaica, 'lakh' (a hundred thousand) and 'crore' (ten million) from India, and many more.

Regional dialect words have every right to be included in an English vocabulary count. They are English words, after all even if they are used only in a single locality. But no one knows how many there are. Several big dictionary projects exist, cataloguing the local words used in some of these areas, but in many parts of the world where English is a mother tongue or second language there has been little or no research. And the smaller the locality is, the greater the problem will be. Everyone knows that 'local' words exist: 'we have our own word for such-and-such round here'. Local dialect societies sometimes print lists of them, and dialect surveys try to keep records of them. But surveys are lengthy and expensive enterprises, and not many have been completed. As a result, most regional vocabulary, especially that used in cities, is never recorded. There must be thousands of distinctive words inhabiting such areas as Brooklyn, the East End of London, San Francisco, Edinburgh and Liverpool, none

of which has ever appeared in any dictionary.

The more colloquial varieties of English, and slang in particular, also tend to be given inadequate treatment. In dictionary writing, the tradition has been to take material only from the written language, and this has led to the compilers concentrating on educated, standard forms. They commonly leave out non-standard expressions, such as everyday slang and obscenities, as well as the slang of specific areas, such as school, banking, or medicine. In 1937 Eric Partridge devoted a whole dictionary to this world of 'slang and unconventional English'. Some of the words it contained were thought to be so shocking that for several years many libraries banned it from their open shelves. Keeping track of slang, though, is one of the most difficult tasks in vocabulary study, because it can be so shifting and short-lived. The life span of a word or phrase may be only a few years or even months. The expression might fall out of use in one social group, and reappear some time later in another. Who knows exactly how much use is still made today of such early jazz-world as groovy, hip, square, solid, cat, and have a ball? Or how much use is made of the new slang terms derived from computers, such as 'he's integrated' (= organized) or 'she's high res (= very alert, from 'high resolution')? Which words for 'being drunk' are now still current: 'canned', 'blotto', 'squiffy', 'jagged', 'paralytic', 'smashed'··· ? And how do we get at the vast special vocabulary, which has now grown up in the drugs world? Word-lovers from time to time make collections, but the feeling always exists that the items listed are only the tip of a huge lexical iceberg.

Marginal Cases In Vocabulary. Estimating the vocabulary size of English is further complicated by the existence of thousands of uncertain cases — words, which you wouldn't feel were part of the 'central' vocabulary of the language. On the other hand, you might well feel

unhappy about leaving them out.

What would you do with all the abbreviations that exist, for example? A recent dictionary of abbreviated words lists over 400,000 entries. It includes old and familiar forms such as 'flu', 'hi-fi', 'FBI', 'UFO', 'NATO' and so on. There are large numbers of new technical terms, such as VHS (the video system), 'AIDS', and all the terms from computerspeak (PC, RAM, ROM, BASIC) and space travel (SRB — solid rocket boosters, OMS — orbital manoeuvring system, etc.).

Because these forms are dependent on 'bigger' words for their existence, you might well decide not to include them in your count. On the other hand, you could argue that they are often more important than the original words, and that the original words may not even be remembered or known (as many people find with such forms as AIDS). Personally, I would include them in my word count, but some dictionaries do not.

There are other marginal cases. What would you do with the names of people, places and things in the world? Should London, Whitehall, Paris, Munich, and Spain be included in your word count? You might think they should, especially knowing that many of these words are different in other languages. However, it isn't usual to include them as part of the vocabulary of English, because the vast majority can appear in any language. Fauna and flora present a further type of difficulty. Around a million species of insects have already been described, for example, which means that there must be around a million designations available to enable English-speaking specialists to talk about their subject. How much of this can be included in our word count? The largest dictionaries already include hundreds of technical and scientific terms, but none of them includes more than a fraction of the insect names, usually just the most important species. Add this total to that required for birds, fish, and other animals, and the theoretical size of the English vocabulary increases enor-

mously.

Size Of Individual Vocabulary. Estimates of the size of the average person's vocabulary are even more contentions. Max Muller, a leading German philologist at the turn of the century, thought the average farm laborer had an everyday vocabulary of no more than 300 words. Pei, a linguist, cites an English study of fruit pickers, which put the number at no more than 500, though he himself thought that the figure was probably closer to 30,000. Stuart Berg Flexner, the noted American lexicographer, suggests that the average well-read person has a vocabulary of about 20,000 words and probably uses about 1,500 to 2,000 in a normal week's conversation. McCrum , an educator, puts an educated person's vocabulary at about 15,000. What is certain is that the number of words we use is very much smaller than the number of words we know.

English Vocabulary Elements. The vocabulary of Modern English is approximately half Germanic (Old English and Scandinavian) and half Italic or Romanic (French and Latin), with copious importations from Greek in science and borrowings from many other languages. Almost all basic concepts and things come from Old English, or Anglo-Saxon, as do most personal pronouns, all auxiliary verbs, most simple prepositions, all conjunctions, and almost all numbers. Many common nouns, adjectives, and verbs are of Scandinavian origin; and some other words would be the same whether they were of Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon origin.

The English language owes a great debt to French. Many terms relating to dress, cuisine, politics, literature, and art come from French. The words denoting skilled artisans are usually Anglo-Saxon. Comparison between French and English synonyms reveals the former to be more human and concrete. Man of the Greek compounds and derivatives in English have Latin equivalents with either similar or considerably different meanings.

Types Of Vocabulary. It may not be possible to arrive at a satisfactory total for English vocabulary. The core vocabulary, as reflected in such dictionaries as the unabridged *Oxford English Dictionary* or *Webster's Third New International* seems to be something over half a million; but if we include some of the above categories, this total will increase by a factor of three or four. How is it all done? How does the language manage to construct so many words? How are new words formed?

There are really only a few ways of creating new words. Quite a large number of words are simply taken over from other languages; they are called 'borrowings', or 'loan-words'. It is clear that an extraordinary range of languages is involved, with some (such as French, Latin, and Greek) being repeatedly used over the centuries. A simple way of making new words is just to change the way they are used in a sentence, without adding any prefixes or suffixes. This process is known as conversion. Verbs can be converted from nouns, as when we say we are going to tape a program or butter some bread. Nouns can be made from adjectives, as in 'He is a natural' or 'They are regulars'. Adjectives can be made from nouns, as in a 'Liverpool accent'. Verbs can be made from prepositions, as in 'to down tools'. And there are several other types.

Another important technique is to join two words together or make a different word, a compound, as in 'blackbird', 'shopkeeper', 'stowaway', 'air-conditioning' and 'frying-pan'. Note that the meaning of a compound isn't simply found by adding together the meaning of its parts; a 'blackbird' isn't the same as a 'black bird', for instance. Also note, as we have already seen, that compounds are not always written as single words. There are hundreds of thousands of compounds in English, especially in scientific fields. There are several other ways, in which new words can be formed, especially in the spoken language. We have already seen the importance of abbreviations, shortening a word (phone), using

its initial letters (NATO), or blending two words (brunch — breakfast and lunch). And there is also the curious process whereby new words can be made by repeating an element, or changing it very slightly, as in 'goody-goody', 'ping-pong', 'crisscross', and 'mishmash'.

Affixation And Composition. Besides employing inflection, English exhibits two other main morphological (structural) processes — affixation and composition — and two subsidiary ones — back-formation and blend. Affixes, word elements attached to a word, may either present at the beginning as prefixes (pre-, dis-) or follow as suffixes (-able, -er). They can be native (over-, -ness), Greek (hyper-), or Latin (-ment). Greek and Latin have become so acclimatized that they can occur together in the same word. English makes varied use of affixes; often, many different ones have the same meaning, or the same one has many meanings. Suffixes are attached more closely to the stem than are prefixes and often remain permanent.

Composition, or compounding, describes putting two free forms together to form a new word. The new word can differ from the previous forms in phonology, stress, and junction. Four types of compounds are defined by describing the relationship of the free forms to each other: (1) a compound in which the first component noun modifies the second noun (e.g., beehive, vineyard); (2) one made up of a noun plus an agent noun, itself consisting of a verb-plus-agent suffix (e.g., icebreaker, landowner, timekeeper); (3) a verb plus an object (e.g., pastime, scarecrow, daredevil); (4) an attributive adjective plus a noun (e.g., fact-finding, heartrending, life-giving).

Bach formation, the reverse of affixation is the analogical formation of a new word falsely assumed to be its derivation. The verbs 'to edit' and 'to act' have been formed from the nouns 'editor' and 'actor', respectively. Blends fall into two groups; (1) coalescences such as 'bash'

from 'bang' and 'smash', and (2) telescoped forms, called portmanteau words, such as 'motorcade' from 'motor cavalcade'.

Foreign Influences. There are two features of the English vocabulary. First, British history, especially social history is intimately linked to the English vocabulary. Given the knowledge of the origin of English words, it is possible to deduce most of the history from the story of its vocabulary. Another feature is the amazingly rapid expansion of the vocabulary. Of all world languages English probably has the vocabulary, which is the most copious, heterogeneous and varied. In it there are the signs of the freshness of its assimilation, the whole of English history, external and internal, political and social. All the peoples with whom its speakers have come into contact during the more than thirteen centuries of its growth, whether these contacts have been deep and lasting like those of France and ancient Rome, or casual like those of Spain or Czechoslovakia, have almost without exception left permanent marks on the English vocabulary. The Romans with whom the ancient Germanic tribes had dealings, the Romanized Britons, the Latin Fathers of the church who were once so eagerly studied, the Danish and Norwegian invaders, the Norman French conquerors, the revived ancient Latin and Greek Classics at the Renaissance, the Italian artists and men of letters of the 16th century, the great colonizing nations of the same century — all these have made their contributions to the English vocabulary. Arab mathematicians from Spain have enriched the language. Later many words from American Indians, Australian Aborigines, and people in Asia have become a part of the vocabulary. It is, no doubt, true that no other language has native words and native primary grammatical structure in ordinary use, while assimilating such copious and heterogeneous material.

Effects Of Foreign Influence. This abundance of finely graded words has made English quite exceptionally rich in its powers of

expression: but at the same time one must pay attention to Samuel Johnson's warning of the 'copious vagueness' of English. The more abundant and varied the vocabulary, the more difficult it must be to use it with exactness and clarity. For example, a largely Latinized vocabulary may be the source of great enrichment to the language of a man who is familiar with Latin: but to one who has never come into contact with Latin at all, this very richness becomes a source of looseness and vagueness of expression, or a cause of temptation by the lure of mere sounding phrases and meaningless grandiloquence. The full effective use of the English vocabulary is now the prerogative of the really well educated: and it is clear that one of the dangers to clear speaking and thinking in a democratic age where education tends to become more and more widespread, is that English may prove too difficult to be used properly or may be played upon in a loose and slovenly manner.

No doubt the relative simplicity of the structure of modern English and its astonishing flexibility and adaptableness have contributed to the ease with which every sort of foreign word or phrase, ancient or modern, seems to find naturally and easily a place in its vocabulary. English is peculiarly rich in synonyms so that it has many words and phrases. But on closer examination, we can find that there are no such things as synonyms in the language, and that there is always some slight shade of difference in meaning or feeling or suggestiveness, between one word or phrase and another of alike significance. This wealth of approximate synonyms is again a source of strength or of weakness to the user of English, according to his education for its employment.

So to speak, words of deep emotional content are likely to be those long handed down from native English origin, whereas those of foreign descent are of shallower feelings. Therefore, for instance, 'love', 'hate', 'longing', which are all native words, have a far deeper content of feel-

ing than words such as 'amatory', 'odium', and 'desire', of which the first two come from Latin and the last from French. Yet such foreign words in origin do have their exact shades of meaning and do contributes to the expressiveness of English if properly used.

It may be debated whether it is better for a language to be mainly homogeneous like Russian, or abundantly heterogeneous like English. If modern English were used without the aid of a Latinized vocabulary, it must to many hearers lack something of naturalness and clarity in many areas of thought outside the common things and experiences of life. On the other hand, stopping loan words cannot be decided by any linguists or authorities or individuals. The vast flood of new words needed at the Renaissance for the new ideas, for example, came to England swiftly. By then people had to find expression in the coining or adaptation of numbers of words from Latin and other foreign sources. Through centuries, English vocabulary has being enriched.

***Comments On The Vocabulary*.** English vocabulary has a remarkable range, flexibility, and adaptability. Thanks to the periods of contact with foreign languages and its readiness to coin new words out of old elements, English seems to have far more words in its core vocabulary than other languages. For example, alongside 'kingly' from Anglo-Saxon we find 'royal' from French and 'regal' from Latin. There are many such sets of words, which add greatly to our opportunities to express subtle shades of meaning at various levels of style.

Of course, not everyone likes the rate at which English vocabulary continues to expand. There is often an antagonistic reaction to new words. Computer jargon has its adherents, but it also has its critics. Old rural dialects may be admired, but the new words from urban dialects are often reviled. The latest slang is occasionally thought of as vivid and exciting, but more often it is condemned as imprecise and sloppy. The news that

fresh varieties of English are developing around world, bringing in large numbers of new words, is seen by some as a good thing, adding still further to the expressive potential of the language; but many people shake their heads, and they are thinking about the language going downhill.

People take vocabulary very personally, and will readily admit to having 'pet hates' about the way other people use words. Vocabulary — and especially change in vocabulary — is one of the most controversial issues in the field of language study. Some people are simply against language change on principle. Others, more sensibly, become worried only when they perceive a usage to be developing which seems to remove a useful distinction in meaning, or to add an ambiguity. They draw public attention to the way words closely related appearance tend to be confused in popular use, such as 'disinterested' and 'uninterested', 'imply' and 'infer', or 'militate' and 'mitigate'. The need for precision is paramount in their minds.

It is difficult to say whether this kind of criticism can halt a change in meaning or use. The history of the language shows how thousands of words have altered their meanings over time, or added new meanings. The vocabulary now is not what it was in Shakespeare's day, and Shakespeare's vocabulary was not the same as Chaucer's. In Anglo-Saxon, 'meat' meant 'food'; today, it means a certain type of food (apart from in such words as 'mincemeat'). 'Notorious' once meant 'widely known'; today it means 'widely and unfavorably known'. Similarly, 'pretty' once meant 'ingenious' ('a pretty plot'). A 'villain' was a farm laborer, 'naughty' meant 'worth doing', and a 'publican' was a public servant. People do not object to these changes in meaning today, or even notice them, because the new uses have been with us for a very long time. Objections are only made to words that are currently in the process of change. For instance, many people complain that they can no

longer use 'gay', now that the meaning of 'homosexual' has been added to the previous meaning of 'joyful'. And they object to the over-use of words and phrases in place of more precise or economical alternatives such as 'nice', 'literally' (used as an intensifying word, as in 'there are literally millions'). The worst judgment people can pass on an expression is to call it a cliché.

There is a certain need to keep a careful eye on our use of words, and on the way other people use them. If what we say or write is unclear, ambiguous, or unintelligible, we do no service to ourselves or to our listeners/ readers. But critical monitoring of current usage is not the same as a blind opposition to all new words and meanings, such as objecting to all new verbs ending in -ize on principle (one of the commonest vocabulary complaints made by letter-writers to the BBC).

Do such objections do any good? It is difficult to know whether they can raise public consciousness sufficiently to influence the course of language change. The processes that govern change seem too complex and deeply rooted in society for the voices of a few individuals to have much effect. Certainly, the evidence seems to support the opposite view. For example, the objections, which were being raised to new -ize verbs a few years ago, have not stopped the acceptance of dozens of these verbs into the language. A good way of illustrating this point is to look at the usage manuals, which were around a generation ago, and compare them with those that are being published now. The first edition of Sir Ernest Gowers' *The Complete Plain Words* appeared in 1954. It included warnings about the use of 'publicize', 'hospitalize', 'finalize', 'casualize' and 'diarize' (enter into a diary). The first three of these have come and won acceptance, despite all the warnings. In the third edition of Gowers' book, published in 1986; the objections to 'publicize' and the others are no longer cited. Instead, new -ize words are mentioned as currently at-

tracting opposition, such as 'prioritize' and 'routinize'.

What does the future hold for these new words? Will they still be used in a generation's time? No one can tell. Linguists have excellent techniques for analyzing vocabulary's past, but they have not yet discovered a means of predicting its future.

4. Pronunciation

第四节 语音

导读:

标注英语读音的国际音标有20个元音和24个辅音。英语具有的重音是不规则的，句子的重读部分不同，表示强调点不同；词中的重音不同，表示词类不同。随着大部分英语屈折形式的消失，英语语调的语义功能也越来越强。在语音与拼写方面，虽然英语有正字法系统，但是英语的拼写并不总是准确地反映出词的读音。从18世纪末起，英语的发音总的说来是稳定的，这是"英语元音大变动"之后产生的结果。英国的"标准语音"在19世纪趋于成熟，它成为英国上流社会和英国公校的英语语音。今天，"标准语音"已得到社会的广泛承认，成为英国法庭、议会、教会、英国广播公司等正式用语的语音。在美国，虽然有三大方言，但是与英国方言读音相比，美国英语的语音却表现出高度的一致性。

English Sounds. In Great Britain, British Received Pronunciation (RP) is the usual speech of educated people. In the United States, Inland Northern (popularly known as Great American) is commonly used. In both countries, however, other pronunciations are acceptable. British Received Pronunciation and American Inland Northern show several diver-

gences: (1) After some vowels American has a semi-continental glide. (2) The vowel in 'cod', 'box', and 'dock' is pronounced like 'aw' in British and a sound similar to 'ah' in American. (3) The vowel in 'but', 'cut', and 'rung', is central in American but is fronted in British. (4) The vowels in the American 'bath', and 'bad' and in the British 'bad' are all pronounced as the same sound, but the vowel in the British 'bath' is pronounced like 'ah', since it is before one of the fricatives s, f, or th (as in 'thin'). (5) When a high back vowel is preceded by t, d, or n in British, a glide (consonantal y) is inserted between them (e.g., 'tulip', 'news'); in American the glide is omitted.

The 24 consonantal sounds comprise six stops (plosives): p, b, t, d, k, g; nine fricatives f, v, th (as in 'thin'), th (as in 'then'), s, z, sh (as in 'ship'), zh (as in 'azure'), and h; two affricatives, ch, (as in 'church') and j (as in 'jam'); three nasals m, n, and ng (as in 'young'); the lateral l; the vibrant or retroflex r; and the semivowels y and w. American and British consonants have the same pronunciation with two exceptions: (1) When 'r' occurs after a vowel, it is dropped in British but pronounced in American. (2) A 't' between two vowels is pronounced like 't' in 'top' in British, but in American the sound is close to that of a 'd'.

English is a strongly stressed language, with three degrees of stress: primary, secondary, and weak. A change in stress can change the meaning of a sentence or a phrase. Although in comparison with other languages English stress is less predictable, there is a tendency toward antepenultimate (third syllable from the last) primary stress. This is apparent in such five-syllable words as equanimity, longitudinal, and notoriety. French stress is often sustained in borrowed words.

Pitch, or musical tone, may be falling, rising, or falling -rising. Word tone, which is also called pitch, can influence the meaning of a

word. Sentence tone is called intonation and is especially important end-of-sentence intonations: falling, rising, and falling-rising. The falling intonation is used in completed statements, commands, and some questions calling for 'yes' or 'no' answers. The rising intonation is used in statements made with some reservation, in polite requests, and in certain questions answerable by 'yes' or 'no'. The third type of intonation, first falling and then rising pitch, is used in sentences that imply concessions or contrasts, American intonation is less singsong and stays in a narrower range than does British. Everywhere that English is spoken, regional dialects show distinct patterns of intonation.

***Vowel Changes*.** In English the consonants have changes relatively not so markedly, whereas English vowels, particularly the long ones, have become almost completely transformed during the history of the language. Up till late in the Middle English period the changes were not so great: but from the 15th to the 17th centuries the long vowels and some of the short vowels moved very greatly in sound. If we take the year 1000, when the great classical Old English prose-writing flourished, as roughly typical for the Old English period, Chaucer for the Middle English, and Shakespeare for the Early Modern English period, the following table may serve to indicate the main changes in the pronunciation of the vowels that have taken place during the history of English.

THE GREAT ENGLISH VOWEL SHIFT

Words	Old English	Chaucer	Shakespeare	Modern English
time	iː	iː	əi	ai
green	eː	eː	iː	iː
meat	ɛ	ɛː	eː	iː

Words	Old English	Chaucer	Shakespeare	Modern English
name	a	a:	ɛ:	ei
small	ɑ	ɑ:	ɔ:	ɔ:
oak	ɑ:	ɔ:	o:	əu
food	o:	o:	u:	u:
now	u:	u:	əu	au
sun	u	u	ʌ	ʌ
new	eu	iu	iu	ju:
few	ɛu	ɛu	eu, iu	ju:
know	ɑu	ɔu	ɔ, uo:	ou
way	ei	ɛi	ɛ, iɛ:	ei
day	ɛi	ɛi	ɛ, iɛ:	ei
voice	—	ɔi	ɔi	ɔi

It is probable that short i, ɛ, a (in closed syllables) and ɔ have not undergone much change.

Received Pronunciation. In England, there is one accent that has come to stand out above all others, conveying associations of respectable social standing and a good education. This 'prestige' accent is known as Received Pronunciation, or RP. It is often associated with the South-east of English, where most RP-speakers live or work, but in fact it can be found anywhere in the country. Accents usually tell us where in the country a person is from; RP tells us only a speaker's social or educational background.

The ancestral form of RP developed in the late Middle Ages, in Lon-

don and the South-east, as the accent of the court and the upper classes. It was well established over 400 years ago. The Elizabethan courtier George Puttenham, writing in 1589, thought that the English of 'northern men, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen ··· is not so courtly or so current as our Southern English is'. Some countries did hold on to their local speech — Walter Raleigh kept his Devoshire accent, for instance. But most people anxious for social advancement would move to London and adopt the accent they found there. As a result, the accent soon came to symbolize a person's high position in society.

During the 19th century, RP became the accent of the public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, and Winchester, and was soon the main sign that a speaker had received a good education. It spread rapidly throughout the Civil Service of the Britain Empire and the armed forces, and became the voice of authority and power. Because RP had few regional overtones and was more widely understood than any regional accent, it came to be adopted by the BBC when radio broadcasting began in the 1920s. During the World War II, the accent became associated in many people's minds as the voice of freedom. Terms RP and BBC English became synonymous.

These days, with the breakdown of rigid divisions between social classes and the development of the mass media, RP is no longer the preserve of a social elite. It is now best described as an educated accent or perhaps accent would be more precise, for there are now (and maybe always have been) several varieties. The most widely used variety is that generally heard on the BBC. But in addition there are both old-fashioned and trend-setting forms of RP. You will hear it in the recordings of BBC plays or announcements from the 1920s and 1930s. Early BBC recordings show the remarkable extent to which RP has altered over just a few decades, and they make the point that no accent is immune to change, not

even the 'best'.

Today RP continues to be the most widely used accent in the Court, Parliament, the Church of England, the legal profession, and in other national institutions. It has received more linguistic research than any other accent. It is still the only accent taught to foreigners who wish to learn a British model, and it is thus widely used abroad. In fact, today there are far more foreign speakers of RP in other countries than mother-tongue users in Britain.

Vowel System Of RP. The transcription is the one widely used today.

/iː/ as in sea, feet, me, field
/i/ as in him, village, women
/e/ as in get, head, Thames
/æ/ as in sat, hand, plait
/ʌ/ as in sun, son, blood, does
/aː/ as in father, car, calm
/ɔ/ as in dog, swan, cough
/ɔː/ as in cord, saw, all, more
/u/ as in put, wolf, good
/uː/ as in soon, do, soup, shoe
/əː/ as in bird, her, turn
/ei/ as in ape, waist, they
/ə/ as in butter, sofa, about
/ai/ as in time, cry, die, high
/ɔi/ as in boy, noise, voice
/əu/ as in so, road, toe, know
/au/ as in out, how, house
/iə/ as in deer, here, fierce
/ɛə/ as in care, air, bear

/ʊə/ as in poor, sure, tour

***Consonant System Of RP*.** Consonants may also appear in 'clusters', such as 'stone', 'cups', and 'try'. Up to three consonants may be used together at the beginning of a spoken word in English. Up to four consonants may used together at the end, though not always very comfortably (as in 'twelfths' and 'glimpsed').

/p/ as in pie
/b/ as in by
/t/ as in tie
/d/ as in die
/k/ as in coo
/g/ as in go
/tʃ/ as in chew
/dʒ/ as in jaw
/f/ as in fee
/v/ as in view
/θ/ as in thin
/ð/ as in the
/s/ as in so
/z/ as in zoo
/ʃ/ as in shoe
/ʒ/ as in beige
/h/ as in hi
/m/ as in my
/n/ as in no
/ŋ/ as in sing
/l/ as in lie
/r/ as in row
/w/ as in way
/j/ as in you

***Intonation Meaning*.** In a language in which inflexion has been greatly reduced, word order must become relatively more rigid. One consequence of this tendency to a fixed word order will be an increase in the role of intonation in the language. For since the varying of the order of words is no longer so possible as means of conveying shades of meaning such as those that depend on emphasis, this emphasis must be obtained by other means: and the varying of tone to indicate meanings no longer expressible by placing emphatic words in appropriate positions in the sen tence (as is done in Latin) is one of the chief of those employed in Mod - ern English. Moreover, in a language of the Germanic type with a relatively fixed stress, like English, musical variety of tone to indicate shades

of meaning becomes much more natural. For these reasons such a language as Chinese, with the distinctions of inflexions, and even the whole scheme of parts of speech, completely removed, finds its natural way of development through a fundamental system of tones and tone-groups. A change of tone in Chinese will turn 'to buy' into 'to sell' for instance. In English though the process of reduction of inflexion and its consequences has reached nothing like so far as the so-called monosyllablism of Chinese, and therefore intonation does not play so fundamental a part in the syntax of the language, intonation has, nevertheless, a very important and far-reaching role. A rising or falling tone in the parts of the sentence determines much of its meaning. Moreover, there is a very close bond between stress and tone or pitch, a strong stress, for instance, often corresponding with a rising tone. Such a sentence as 'You are going to buy that house' may be a statement of fact or a question according to whether the tone is falling or rising at its end. Furthermore, other tone-variations in this sentence can easily be thought of which would make it express surprise that the house is to be bought and not acquired in some other way, horror that that particular house is to be bought, or a suggestion that some other type of residence and not a house should be bought: and this by no means exhausts the possibilities of intonation-variation in this one sentence. Or again, there are very kinds of sentence, each with a difference of meaning dependent on varying the tone of voice, in which the verb 'do' is uttered. A phonetic transcript tells only part of the truth about a passage of speech. For the full reproduction it would be necessary to have it recorded in a notation which showed the various tones throughout — rising, falling, level, rising-falling and falling-rising. Some find it more effective to indicate more fully the exact varieties of pitch in a speech by using a wavy line above the words, adjusting its height according to the degree of raising or lowering of the voice. But enough has been said to in-

dicate how important intonation is in Modern English, and how intimately it is linked with syntax.

Discrepancy Between Pronunciation And Spelling. One of the outstanding features of English is the apparent discrepancy between its spelling and its pronunciation. Many English learners give just one reason for their complaint: a letter is there in the spelling, and so it should be pronounced. This is another example of the widespread belief, mentioned above, that speech is a poor relation of writing. We always need to remind ourselves that speech came first, in the history of our species, and that we all learn to speak before we learn to write. To be worried about our pronunciation because it does not match the spelling is strange reversal of priorities. We also need to remember that pronunciation patterns have changed radically since the days when the spelling system was laid down. English spelling has not been a good guide to pronunciation for hundreds of years. Throughout its history, English has had scribes, printers and conscious reformers who have tried to make spelling adequately represent pronunciation. But always the pronunciation has changed quicker than the spelling, and the latterly in the modern period the conventions of printing have standardized the spelling, leaving pronunciation to continue its natural course of change.

Here are some English words to prove the discrepancy:

although, among, answer, are, aunt, autumn, blood, build, castle, Christmas, clerk, climb, color, comb, cough, could, course, debt, do, does, done, dough, eye, friend, gone, great, gave, hour, island, journey, key, lamb, listen, move, none, of, once, one, only, own, people, pretty, quay, receive, rough, said, salt, says, shoe, shoulder, some, sugar, talk, two, was water, were, where, who, you.

Controversies In Pronunciation. The following list includes many of the words, which have alternative pronunciations in cur-

rent English. The asterisk indicates the pronunciation recommended in the 1981 BBC guide.

Adversary	stress on * 1st or 2nd syllable
Apartheid	vowel in 3rd syllable as in 'height' or * 'hate'
Apparatus	vowel in 3rd syllable as in 'car' or * 'fate'
Applicable	stress on * 1st or 2nd syllable
Ate	vowel as in * 'set' or 'late'
Centenary	vowel in 2nd syllable as in 'ten' or * 'teen'
Centrifugal	stress in * 2nd or 3rd syllable
Comparable	stress on * 1st or 2nd syllable
Contribute	stress in 1st or * 2nd syllable
Controversy	stress on * 1st or 2nd syllable
Deity	vowel in 1st syllable as in 'say' or * 'see'
Derisive	vowel in 2nd syllable as in * 'rice' or 'rise'
Dilemma	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'did' or 'die'
Diphtheria	ph as * /f/or /p/
Dispute	stress on 1st syllable or * 2nd syllable
Economic	vowel in 1st syllable as in 'met' or 'me' (both acceptable)
Envelope	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'den' or 'don'
Homosexual	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'hot' or 'home'
Inherent	vowel in 2nd syllable as in * 'see' or 'set'
Kilometer	stress on * 1st syllable or 2nd syllable
Longitude	ng as in * 'range' or 'long'
Medicine	said as * 2 syllables or 3
Migraine	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'me' or 'my'
Pejorative	stress on 1st or * 2nd syllable
Plastic	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'cat' or 'car'
Primarily	stress on 1st or * 2nd syllable
Privacy	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'sit' or 'sign'

Sheikh	vowel as in 'see' or * 'say'
Soviet	vowel in 1st syllable as in * 'so' or 'cot'
Status	vowel in 1st syllable as in 'sat' or * 'state'
Subsidence	vowel in 2nd syllable as in 'Sid' or * 'side'
Trait	final t * silent or sounded

5. Spelling

第五节　拼写

导读：

英语是一种拼音文字。在英语最古老的时期中，英语是由一种古代北欧字母，或者说是一种神秘而魔术性的符号组成。后来，基督教传入不列颠，古英语受到罗马传教士的影响，英语从拉丁语中取用了 23 个字母，之后，又有 W，J，V 3 个字母进入英语，英语的 26 个字母在 15 世纪稳定下来，并延续至今。在中古英语后期，英语的拼写还习惯于按发音拼写单词，也就是说不同的方言就有不同的拼写，因此英语的拼写比较混乱。在历史上有两件大事影响英语的拼写，致使英语拼写达到标准统一的程度。一个是，1476 年卡克斯顿把印刷术引进到英国，印刷术在推动英语拼写统一化方面发挥了很大作用。另一个是，1775 年约翰逊的《英语字典》把英语单词的拼写第一次固定下来，使得英语单词的拼写形式规范统一。然而，英语的拼写与发音没有高度的统一性。在历史上，有一些学者曾经为英语拼写改革作过很大的努力，但成效不大。因为语言的发展是按照其内部规律进行的，一些强制规定语言的做法是徒劳的。总之，经历了 1000 多年进化演变的英语拼写是语言变化和社会发展的结果。

Spelling Types. Broadly speaking, spelling may be of three

main types. It may be phonetic (representing by symbols that actual sounds of the language), or ideographic (showing the idea or thought of a thing, but giving no indication of pronunciation), or it may be mixed — that is to say it may have something of the nature of both the foregoing methods. The ancient Chinese invented a writing in which each symbol represents a word or root by means of simplified forms of what were originally pictures of the things themselves: and these are termed ideographs because it is the idea and not the noise of the word that is represented by the writing. This method has the advantage of being quite independent of the fluctuations of pronunciation, whereas a phonetic spelling must sooner or later become out of date by reason of the changing nature of pronunciation. Pronunciation depends partly on physical characteristics, since the sounds are made by the speech-organs of mouth and larynx, and partly on psychological factors. Since these are always changing, in individuals, in groups of people and in nations, it follows that pronunciation can never remain stationary . Half a century ago the word ' vase ' was pronounced /vɔːz/ while in America it is sounded as /veiz/. A phonetic spelling tends to assume that the language can be static, whereas it must by its nature continually change. More and more the modern English spelling tends to become ideographic, that is to say we transfer the idea conveyed by a group of letters seen on the page direct to our brains without the medium of sound. Modern books for teaching children to read often say 'look and say', referring to the groups of symbols which are the words, rather than 'listen and repeat'. Many words too exist only in books and have no received pronunciation because the reader has never heard them spoken or said; the words are symbol-groups, which convey an idea without the intermediary of sound. Yet, on the other hand, letters are still associated with sound in modern English, especially in the more familiar and traditional words, and for this reason it may perhaps be fine to describe its

spelling as mixed, partly phonetic and partly ideographic. But the phonetic aspects are sometimes only survivals or historical aspects. For the fixation of English spelling brought about by the printers in the 17th century and as it were, clinched by the rise of dictionaries in the next century, has made it largely symbolical and independent of pronunciation. Thus people all over the world, who pronounce English in many different ways, some of which would be quite unintelligible in Britain, can communicate satisfactorily in the written form, since to them the groups of letters are the symbols of words and not of sounds. It is, on the one hand, the changing nature of pronunciation that makes the chief objection to any phonetic reform of English spelling, and on the other, the loss of continuity with the past and contact with older literature which would result from such a reform. 'Simplified spelling' or 'reformed spelling' is a far more complex and uncertain problem than those who have not studies the language scientifically can easily realize.

***English Letters In Spelling*.** The English language adopted the 23-letter Latin alphabet, to which they added the letters W, J, and V. For the most part, English spelling is based on that of the 15th century. Pronunciation, however, has changed greatly since then. During the 17th and 18th centuries, fixed spellings were adopted, although there have been a few changes since that time. Numerous attempts have been made to reform English spelling, many during the 20th century.

***Special Spelling Rules*.** These rules account for thousands of words. By contrast, there are relatively few exceptions (several of which can be learned as 'rules within rules'). Here are some of them:

(1) If the verb already ends in a double consonant, it keeps it, even if it has a long vowel sound, e.g. 'purr/purring', 'err/erring'.

(2) Verbs with a short vowel sound spelled with two vowel letters

don't double the consonant, e.g. 'dread/ dreading'.

(3) Verbs ending in 'l, m, g, and sometimes p' tend to double the consonant anyway, e. g. cancelling, programming, humbugging, kidnapping. Usage varies between British and American English. Doubling is normal in British English, for such words as 'travelling' and 'worshipping'. US English prefers the single consonant letter: 'traveling' and 'worshiping'.

(4) With a very few verbs ending in -s, both forms are possible, e. g. 'focusing/focussing', 'biasing/biassing'.

This is just one example of the kind of relationship, which exists between sounds and spellings in English. Working through such cases shows that there is a system — there are several rules, even though there are exceptions. But why are there so many rules? And where do the exceptions come from?

Causes Of Irregularities. The English spelling system is the result of a process of development that has been going on for over 1,000 years. The complications we left with today are the result of the major linguistic and social events, which took place during this time.

Some of the complications arose at the outset, when Old English was first written down by the Roman missionaries, using the 23-letter Latin alphabet — the same as our modern alphabet, except that there was no distinction between I and J or U and V, and there was no W (these were added in the Middle English period) — but there were simply not enough letters to cope with Old English, which contained nearly forty vowels and consonants. The missionaries used extra symbols from the local runic alphabet to write sounds that were noticeably different from Latin (such as the 'th' sound). But despite this, it still proved necessary to use some letters (such as 'c' and 'g') for more than one sound, and to represent some sounds by combinations of letters (such as sc - the equivalent of

present-day 'sh').

After the Norman Conquest, the French scribes brought their own ideas about spelling to bear on the language. Several Old English spellings were replaced. The French introduced 'qu', where Old English had used 'cw' (e.g. queen). They brought in 'gh' instead of 'h' in such words as 'night' and 'enough', and 'ch' instead of 'c' in such words as 'church'. They used 'ou' for 'u' (e.g. house). They began to use 'c' before 'e' or 'i' in such words as 'circle' and 'cell'. Because the letter 'u' was written in a very similar way to 'v', 'n', and 'm', words containing a sequence of these letters were difficult to read; they therefore often replaced the 'u' with 'o', in such cases as 'come', 'love', 'one', and 'son'. By the beginning of the 12th century, English spelling was a mixture of two systems Old English and French.

The introduction of printing in 1476 brought further consequences. In the early 15th century, there were many ways of spelling words, reflecting regional variations in pronunciation. William Caxton had to choose one system as a standard to follow in his printing house. He chose the system, which reflected the speech of the London area. As a result, the spelling of many words became stable for the first time, and the notion of a 'correct' spelling began to grow.

However, although spelling stayed relatively stable, pronunciation did not. During the 15th century, the sounds of London speech were undergoing the greatest change in its history. Six of the vowels of Middle English altered completely. To take just such change: in Chaucer's time, the word 'name' was pronounced with an /ɑː/ vowel sound like that of 'calm', which is why it is spelled with 'a' vowel now. It was the 15th-century 'vowel shift' which changed the pronunciation to its modern form. Before the advent of printing, the scribes would have heard this new pronunciation, and changed the spelling to suit. 'Name' would have

come to be spelled 'neim' or 'maym', or some no longer acceptable. The consequence is that our modem spelling in many respects reflects the way words were pronounced in Chaucer's time.

The same kind of reasoning explains many of the 'silent letters' of modem English spelling. The 'k' of such words as 'knee', 'know', and 'knight' was pronounced in Old English, but it ceased to be sounded during the 15th century. The 'e' at the end of such words as 'name' and 'stone' was also pronounced — the sound was similar to the last vowel of 'sofa' — but it became silent during this period. The spelling, however, continued to reflect the older sounds.

In the 16th century, there was a fashion among learned writers to show the history of etymology of a word in its spelling, and several of these new spellings became standard. This is where the silent 'b' in 'debt' came from, for instance. The word had no 'b' sound in Middle English. The letter 'b' was added by people who wished to remind everyone that the word comes from 'debitum' in Latin. Similarly, a 'b' was added to 'doubt' from 'dubitare' and a 'g' to 'reign' from 'regno'. In addition, there was a concem to 'tidy up' the spelling, for example, leading people to think, because there was a 'gh' in 'night' and 'light', there should be one in 'delight' and 'tight' also. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, a new wave of loan words arrived in English from such languages as French, Latin, Greek, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese. They brought with them a host of un-English-looking spellings — words, which ended in strange combinations of vowels and consonants, such as 'bizarre', 'brusque', 'canoe', 'cocoa', 'gazette', 'moustache', and 'intrique'. Some of the strangest spellings in the language stemmed from this period.

Because of the complex history of the English language, English spelling is a curious mixture of different influences. It is surprising, in-

deed, that with such a checkered history so much regularity should have been retained. But the changes took place over a lengthy time scale, and many of the spellings were tried out for long periods often accompanied by considerable debate, especially in the 16th century before they were finally adopted. The result is a system which, despite its weaknesses, has proved to be sufficiently functional that it has so far resisted all proposals for its fundamental reform.

Spelling Reform. Despite the existence of a great deal of regularity in English spelling, everyone would agree that a lot of time and money would be saved if the system could be improved by eliminating all the irregularities. Proposals for spelling reform can be traced back to the 16th century, but the main movements in favor of reform developed in both America and Britain in the 19th century, The Spelling Reform Association was founded in the USA in 1876, and the British Simplified Spelling Society in 1908. Since then, there have been many proposals made and systems devised, some in minute detail.

However, the arguments against spelling reform are as easy to state. Children and foreigners of English would save much time and emotional effort in learning to read and write. People using the language would save time and money, because they would be able to write English more rapidly, and with fewer letters as many as 15 % fewer, according to some estimates.

So far, the disadvantages have overwhelming. The nearest the Simplified Spelling Society came to success was in 1949, when their publication, called 'Nue Spelling', was presented to Parliament. The bill was defeated, but only 87 votes to 84! In 1953, another bill in fact passed its first stage, but was later withdrawn.

One of the biggest problems facing the spelling reform movement is the lack of any universal agreement as to what the best alternative system

might be. Over the years, hundreds of proposals have been made, differing from each other in all kinds of ways. Some systems such as Nue Spelling, stay with familiar letters, and try to use them in a regular way. Others go in for a number of invented symbols, which supplement the letters already in use. The initial teaching alphabet devised by James Pitman in 1959 is of this kind, although it wasn't a proposal for the permanent reform of English spelling, but a system intended to help children when they were learning to read. In addition, there are a few systems, which present a totally radical solution — a fresh start in which all old letters are eliminated and brand new symbols introduced. George Bernard Shaw's Proposal British Alphabet (Shavian) falls within this last category.

Despite more than a century of effort, the spelling reform movement has made little progress. The case is still regularly argued, but the arguments largely fall on deaf ears.

Correct Spelling Today. The stabilization of the spelling system was complete by about 1700 in printing, though handwriting remained relatively unstandardized for some time. Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, published in 1755, became a standard reference for private use. There have been few changes since the 18th century. Today most words have one fixed spelling which can be looked up in the dictionaries. The demand for accuracy in spelling is a social and educational fact of life and some questions about the necessity for consistency in spelling are worth debating.

The present standardized spelling system:

— dates back a thousand years or more in its basic patterning,

— reflects the pronunciation of English in the 14th century rather than today, that is, it ignores the Great Vowel Shift,

— also ignores many other subsequent changes in pronunciation that have taken place,

— takes its letter/sound correspondences from several sources, and
— makes arbitrary choices from available variants.

Spelling Confusables. There are many pairs of words in English, which sound the same or nearly the same but which are spelled differently. Some of the items, which are most commonly confused, are listed below. The context will make it clear which sense is intended. The correct spellings are indicated at the end of the list, using the convention A for the first alternative or B for the second.

(1) Did they all accept/except?
(2) Everyone accept/except John left.
(3) Did we prophecy/prophesy the right result?
(4) It was a rotten prophecy/prophesy.
(5) Has he made any allusions/illusions to the problem?
(6) He is under no allusions/illusions about its difficulty.
(7) I want to amend/emend what I wrote.
(8) I want to amend/emend my ways.
(9) She was born/borne through the crowds.
(10) She was born/borne in 1855.
(11) That will complement/compliment your shirt nicely.
(12) Thank you for your complement/compliment.
(13) Someone's complained to the council/counsel.
(14) You should take some council/counsel about that.
(15) You need a new licence/license for that hamster.
(16) I'll licence/license it next week.
(17) Look at that fantastic lightning/lightening.
(18) I think the sky's lightning/lightening now.
(19) I need some more stationary/stationery.
(20) That car's stationary/stationery.
(21) I'm the principle/principal speaker.

(22) I'm going to stick to my principles/principals.

(23) I'm going to do some sowing/sewing in the sitting room.

(24) I'm going to do some sowing/sewing in the long field.

Answers:

(1) A (2) B (3) B (4) A (5) A (6) B (7) B (8) A (9) B (10) A (11) A (12) B (13) A (14) B (15) A(in UK), B(in USA) (16) B (17) A (18) B (19) B (20) A (21) B (22) A (23) B (24) A

Chapter Ⅳ Regional Varieties of English

第四章 区域性的英语变体

1. The Colonial Expansion of the British Empire

第一节 英国的殖民扩张

导读:

英国殖民扩张始于1583纽芬兰的殖民化。从17世纪起，英国即开始大规模推行其海外扩张政策。18世纪初，英国在北美有了定居点。18世纪末、19世纪初英国加快了在北美的殖民扩张。1788年英国开始了对澳大利亚的殖民统治。19世纪初英国对印度的征服基本完成，1857年对印度实行全面统治。19世纪初英国在南非实行殖民统治。到19世纪末、20世纪初，殖民扩张使英国成为一个强大的帝国，其人口的控制范围达世界的四分之一，土地达四分之一，殖民地遍布北美、亚洲、澳洲和非洲。随着殖民地的开拓与建立，英语逐渐发展成为世界许多地区的重要语言，这些地区的英语有别于英国英语，具有较强的区域性特点，从而形成了多个英语变体。就是在15世纪时，英语还只不过是不列颠岛上英国人的语言。今天，世界上有超过3.7亿人以英语为第一语言，而更多的人以英语为第二语言、教育语言或工

作语言。可以这么说，英语的普及发展与各个区域性变体的形成和发展是分不开的。

***Expansion Of The British Empire*.** Probably the most important force in the development of English in the modern period has been the tremendous expansion of English-speaking peoples. Britain's colonial expansion established the pre-conditions for the global use of English, taking the language from its island birthplace to settlements around the world. The English language has grown up in contact with many others, making it a hybrid language, which can rapidly evolve to meet new cultural and communicative needs. The English language has been associated with migration since its first origins — the language came into beng in the 5th century with patterns of people movement and resettlement. Even in 1500 English was a minor language, spoken by a few people on an island. Now it is perhaps the greatest language of the world. As a world language its history began in the 17th century, most notably in the foundation of the American colonies. Many European powers were similarly expanding: French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish became established as colonial languages, the latter two still important outside Europe in Latin America, But in the 19th century the British empire with its distinctive mix of trade and cultural politics, consolidated the world position of English, creating a 'language on which the sun never sets'. Therefore, when we speak of English now, we must be aware of varieties of English — British English, American English, Canadian English, Australian English, Indian English, South African English and so on.

When we take our eyes from the internal problems, which the language was facing the Englishmen were attempting to solve, we observe that in this period the foundations were being laid for that wide extension of English in the world, which has resulted in its use throughout more

than a quarter of the earth's surface. Although we occasionally come across references in those who wrote about the language suggesting the reforms they hoped for and the changes they were suggesting would be advantageous to the language in its use abroad, it is doubtful whether the future greatness of the English language was suspected any more than the growth of the empire itself. For the British Empire was not the result of a consciously planned and aggressively executed program, but the product of circumstances and often of chance.

England entered the race for colonial territory late. It was the end of the 15th century that witnessed the voyages, which opened up the East and West to European exploration. And when Columbus discovered America in 1492 and Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498 by way of the Cape of Good Hope, their achievements were due to Spanish and Portuguese enterprise. It was only when the wealth of America and India began pouring into Spanish and Portuguese coffers that the envy and ambition of other countries were aroused. In the 16th century Spain was the greatest of the European powers, but it was ruined by its own wealth. Thereafter England's real rival for a colonial empire was France.

Expansion In North America. English colonial expansion began with the colonization of Newfoundland in 1583. Later the English settlements at Jamestown in 1607 and Plymouth in 1620 were the beginning of a process of colonization in North America that soon gave to England the Atlantic seaboard. By 1733 the British established 13 colonies along the east coast of North America. The French settlements began in Montreal, Quebec, and on the St. Lawrence, and then pressed vigorously to the west and south, toward the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. Wolfe's victory (1759) over Montcalm paved the way for the ultimate control of most of this continent by the English. Although the American Revolution deprived the mother country of one of her most promising colo-

nies, it did not prevent the language of this region from remaining English.

Colonization Of India. Meanwhile England was getting a foothold in India. At the end of the 16th century the revolt of the Netherlands and the rapid rise of Holland as a maritime power soon brought the Dutch into active competition with the Portuguese in the trade with India. Inspired by the Dutch example, the English entered the contest and in 1600 the East India Company was founded to promote this trade, establishing settlements at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. In the reign of Louis XIV the French formed similar settlements not far from Calcutta and Madras. By the Middle of the 18th century the two great rivals in India, as in America, were England and France. Largely through the accomplishments of a young Englishman named Clive, a clerk in the East India Company with a genius for military matters, the struggle that ensued ended in a series of triumphs for the English, and thus an area almost equal to that of European Russia became part of the British Empire. In 1857 the British government fully controlled India. The colonial rule lasted till 1947.

Occupation Of Australia. The beginning of the English occupation of Australia also occurred in the 18th century. In 1768 the Royal Society persuaded the king to sponsor an expedition into those parts of the Pacific to observe the transit of Venus across the sun. Their ship was under the command of an enterprising seaman, Captain Cook, and after the astronomical observations had been completed he undertook to explore the lands, which were vaguely known to be in the neighborhood. He sailed around the islands of New Zealand and then continued twelve hundred miles westward until he reached Australia. In both places he planted the British flag. A few years later the English discovered a use to which his territory could be put. The American Revolution had deprived them of a

convenient place to which to deport criminals. The prisons were overcrowded and in 1787 it was decided to send several shiploads of convicts to Australia. In 1787 eleven ships sailed from England and reached Botany Bay on January 18, 1788. Since then the British had begun their colonial rule in Australia. Soon after, the discovery that sheep raising could be profitably carried on in the country led to considerable immigration, which later became a stampede when gold was discovered in the island in 1851. The colonial period lasted until 1901 when the Australian colonies federated to form the Commonwealth of Australia.

Expansion In Africa. The opening up of Africa was largely the work of the 19th century, although it had its start likewise at the close of the 18th century. Early in the Napoleonic Wars Holland had come under the control of France and in 1795 England seized the Dutch settlement at Cape Town. From this small beginning sprang the control of England over a large part of South Africa. This is not the place to pursue the complicated story of how the attitude of the Boers and the native tribes forced the English to push farther and farther north, how the missionary efforts and the explorations of Livingstone played their part and had their culmination in the work of the great financier and empire builder, Cecil Rhodes. Nor can we pause over the financial embarrassments of Egypt and the necessity for English control over the Suez Canal, which led to the British protectorate over the region of the Nile. We can note only the result, the control by England of so large a part of southern and eastern Africa as to make possible the building of railroad from Cape Town to Cairo. Our interest is merely in sketching in the background for the extension of the English language and the effect, which this extension had upon it.

Effects Of Expansion On The Language. Four hundred years ago, at the turn of the 16th and the 17th centuries, English was spoken almost exclusively by the English in England, and by some speak-

ers in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, and this had been so for hundreds of years since the language was first brought to Britain in the 5th century.

Today English is a worldwide international language. It is spoken as a mother tongue by about 370 million people in the British Isles, Canada, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. It is a second language for many others in, for example, India and Pakistan and in some African states, where it is used as an official language in government and education.

In the various parts of the former British Empire, as in the United States, the English languages has developed differences which distinguish it from the language of England. In Australia, Africa, South Asia, and Canada, peculiarities of pronunciation and vocabulary have grown up which mark off national varieties from the dialect of the mother country and from one another. These peculiarities are partly such as arise in communities separated by time and space, and are partly due to the influence of a new environment. In some countries the most striking changes are the result of imperfect learning and systematic adaptations by speakers of other languages. Differences of nature and material civilization, and generally contact with some foreign tongue, are clearly reflected in the vocabulary. Apart from the greatly enlarged sphere of activity, which the English language thus acquired and the increased opportunity for local variation that has naturally resulted, the most obvious effects of English expansion are to be seen in the vocabulary. New territories mean new experiences, new activities, new products, all of which are in time reflected in the language. Trade routes have always been important avenues for the transmission of ideas and words. In America contact with the Indians resulted in a number of characteristic words such as 'caribou', 'hickory', 'hominy', 'moccasin', 'moose', 'opossum', 'papoose', 'raccoon', 'skunk', 'squaw', 'toboggan', 'tomahawk', 'totem', 'wampum', and 'wig-

wam'.

From other parts of America, especially where the Spanish and the Portuguese were settled, we have derived many more words, chiefly through Spanish. Thus we have in English Mexican words such as 'chili', 'chocolate', 'coyote', 'tomato'; from Cuba and the West Indies come 'barbecue', 'cannibal', 'canoe', 'hammock', 'hurricane', 'maize', 'potato', 'tobacco'; from Peru we get through the same channel 'alpaca', 'condor', 'jerky', 'llama', 'pampas', 'puma', 'quinine'; from Brazil and other south American regions 'buccaneer', 'cayenne', 'jaguar', 'petunia', 'poncho', 'tapioca'.

English contact with the East has been equally productive of new words. From India come 'bandana', 'bangle', 'bengal', 'Brahman', 'bungalow', 'calico', 'cashere', 'cheroot', 'china', 'chintz', 'coolie', 'cot', 'curry', 'dinghy', 'juggernaut', 'jungle', 'jute', 'loot', 'mandarin', 'nirvana', 'pariah', 'polo', 'punch', 'pundit', 'rajah', 'rupee', 'sepoy', 'thug', 'toddy', 'tom-tom', 'mango', and 'seersucker'.

From Africa either directly from the natives or from Dutch and Portuguese traders, we obtain 'banana', 'Boer', 'boorish', 'chimpanzee', 'gorilla', 'guinea', 'gumbo', 'Hottentot', 'palavar', 'voodoo', and 'zebra'.

Australia has not contributed so much to the general language. 'Boomerang', and 'kangaroo' are interesting examples of native words that have passed into universal use. Other words are sometimes found in the English of Australians, 'wombat', a kind of borrowing animal, 'paramatta', a light dress fabric, and 'cooey', a signal cry 'with cooey' of Sydney when he is within an easy journey of the city. Thus, one of the seasons for the cosmopolitan character of the English vocabulary today is seen to be the multitude of contacts the English language has had with

other tongues in widely scattered parts of the world.

Summarily, the British expansion brought about the emerging of varieties of English, such as American English, Canadian English, Australian English and South African English, and many 'new Englishes' in the different states of Africa, India, Pakistan, Singapore and the Philippines for example. These 'new Englishes' develop their own characteristics of vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation.

2. American English

第二节　美国英语

导读：

美国英语是英国在对北美进行殖民地开拓的过程中逐步形成的一种区域性的英语变体。由于美国英语是在17世纪的英国英语基础上发展起来的，所以，美国英语的历史与美国的移民史有着密切的关系。在很长的一段时期里，美国的英语和英国的英语并没有什么显著的不同。美国英语继承了英国英语的语法结构，基本词汇和某些地区的发音方法。后来，因地域差别，以及两地社会发展不同，19世纪的美国英语中仍保留了同时期英国英语中已不复存在的语言特点。美国独立以后，民族主义也影响到了语言使用和研究方面。词典编纂家韦伯斯特对美国英语的规范化作出了卓越的贡献。在词汇方面美国英语吸收了一些外来成分，这些外来词来自美洲印地安人的语言和许多移民国家的语言，致使美国英语成为词汇相当丰富的一种英语变体。至此，美国英语和英国英语在发音方面和用词方面已有很大不同。有的人认为，英国英语和美国英语之间的差别和分歧将会愈演愈烈；而另外一些人则认为，随着当今经济全球化进程的推进，英国英语和美国英语将愈来愈趋于一致，两大支流将合二为一。

Establishment Of British Colonies In America. The most significant step in the progress of English towards its status as a world languages took place in the last decades of the 16th century, with the arrival of the expeditions commissioned by Walter Ralergh to the 'New World'. The first venture was a failure. In 1584 the first group of explorers landed near Roanoke Island, in what is today called North Carolina, and established a small settlement. But conflict with the Indians followed, and it proved necessary for a ship to return to England for help and supplies. By the time those arrived, in 1590, none of the original group of settlers could be found. The mystery of their disappearance has never been solved.

The first permanent English settlement dated from 1607, when an expedition arrived in Chesapeake Bay, and called the settlement Jamestown, after James I. Further settlements quickly followed along the coast, and also on the nearby islands. Then in 1620, the first group of Puritan settlers arrived on the Mayflower, the Pilgrim Fathers, searching for a land where they could found a new religious kingdom 'purified' from the practices, which they found unacceptable in the English Church of the time. They landed at Cape Cod, in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and established a settlement there (a way of life which has in recent times been lovingly recreated by a group of 'living history' enthusiasm). By 1640 around 25,000 people had settled in the area. Between 1607 and 1733 the British established 13 colonies along the east coast of North America. They are Virginia, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Rhode Island, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Georgia.

Linguistic Nationalism. The Declaration of Independence and the rebellion against the mother country caused a great surge of lin-

guistic and cultural patriotism. The general idea of the patriots was to improve upon English, as Adams has it in mind to do when he proposed " the first public institution for refining, correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English language", to restore to it something of its supposed pristine purity, to render it more orderly, more correct. To many, however, 'pure English' continued to mean simply British English, of which American English was held to be a debased form, so that any type of speech, which deviated from the British Standard, was impure. This opinion was held by American and English commentators alike. An outstanding exception was that sturdy linguistic patriot Noah Webster, who regarded American English as in no sense inferior to British English; both were, as a matter of fact, in a state of decay. The American Revolution promoted the consciousness of American nationalism. Americans were beginning to be aware of their language and to believe that it might be destined to have a future as glorious as that which they confidently expected for the country itself.. It was apparent that in the 150 years since the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth the English language on this continent had developed certain differences. Thomas Jefferson thought that we were more tolerant of Innovations in speech that the people of England and that these innovations might eventually justify calling the language of America by a name other than English. This consciousness of an American variety of English with characteristics of its own led to the consideration of a standard, which should be recognized on this side of the Atlantic.

Influence Of Webster's Dictionary. The first books of Noah Webster (1758 – 1843) on English spelling and grammar were extremely successful — his *American Spelling Book* selling around 80 million copies in the century following its publication. In 1828, he published an *American Dictionary of the English Language*, in two volumes — what

in later revisions has come to be known simply as Webster's. This work was the foundation of American lexicography, and was held in similar esteem to Johnson's *Dictionary in England*. Webster's aim was to show the way the language was developing independently in America: "our honor", he wrote, "requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as in government. Great Britain, whose children we are, should no longer be our standard; for the taste of her writers is already corrupted, and her language on the decline." He introduced several spelling forms, one of the few people ever to have done so successfully, which resulted in such spellings as 'color', 'center', 'defense', and 'traveler'. Some, such as his proposal to spell 'medicin', 'examin', etc. without the 'e', did not succeed; on the other hand, his spelling of 'music', 'logic', etc. without a final 'k' has since become standard.

It has been thought well to trace in some detail the evolution of Webster's ideas on the subject of spelling, since it is to him that we owe the most characteristic differences between English and American practice today. Some of his innovations have been adopted in England, and it may be said in general that his later views were on the whole moderate and sensible. Though the influence is more difficult to prove, there can be no doubt that to Webster are to be attributed some of the characteristics of American pronunciation, especially its uniformity and the disposition to give fuller value to the unaccented syllables of words.

***Linguistic Traces From The Mother Country*.** It is important to appreciate that these two patterns of settlement resulted in different linguistic consequences. The southern explorers came mainly from the West Country, and brought with them the characteristic west-country accent, with its Zummerzet' voicing of 's' sounds, and the 'r' pronounced after vowels. Strong hints of this accent can still be heard in the speech of communities living in some of the isolated valleys and islands in

the ears, such as Tangier Island in Chesapeake Bay. These 'Tidewater' accents, as they are called, will have changed somewhat over the past 300 years, but not as rapidly (because of the relative isolation of the speakers) as elsewhere in the country. They are sometimes said to be the closest we will ever get to the sound of Shakespearean English.

In contrast, the Puritans came mainly from East Anglia and the surrounding countries, and their accent was quite different, notably lacking an 'r' after vowels (as in present-day standard English). This tendency not to 'pronounce the 'r' is still a main feature of the speech of people from the New England area today.

Other features of the dialects of 17th-century England can be identified in modern American speech . The separateness of the colonies re - mained for much of the 17th century, but during this time increasing contacts and new patterns of settlement caused the sharp divisions between accents to begin to blur. New shiploads of settlers brought people with a variety of linguistic backgrounds, and the 'middle' Atlantic areas began to be opened up. The area around New York saw rapid development. From 1681, Pennsylvania came to be settled mainly by Quakers, whose origins were mostly in the Midlands and North of England. By 1700, the immigrant population of the continent had increased to around a quarter of a million. In the early 18th century, there was a vast wave of immigration from Northern Ireland. The Irish had been migrating to America from around 1600, but the main movements took place during the 1720s, when around 50,000 Irish and Scot-Irish immigrants arrived. By the time Independence was declared in 1776, it is thought that no less than one in seven of the American population was Scot-Irish. Many stayed along the coast, but most moved inland through the mountains in search of land. They were seen as frontier people, with an accent, which at the time was described as 'broad'.

Cosmopolitan Character. An important aspect of American life, its cosmopolitan character, was presented from the beginning and this had linguistic consequences too. The Spanish had occupied large areas in the west and southwest of the country. The French were present in the northern territories, and through the middle regions (French Louisiana) as far as the Gulf of Mexico. The Dutch were in New York (originally New Amsterdam) and the surrounding area. Large numbers of Germans began to arrive at the end of the 17th century, settling mainly in Pennsylvania and its hinterland. And there were increasing numbers of blacks in the south, as a result of the slave trade from Africa, which dramatically increased in the 18th century: a population of little more than 2,500 blacks in 1700 had become about 100,000 by 1775, far outnumbering the southern whites. During the 19th century, these immigration patterns increased, with many people fleeing the results of revolution and famine in Europe. Large numbers of Irish came following the potato famine in the 1840s. Germans and Italians came, escaping the consequences of the failure of the 1848 revolutions. And as the century wore on, there were increasing numbers of Central European Jews, especially fleeing from the pogroms of the 1880s. In the decades around the turn of the century, the U.S. welcomed five million Germans, four million Italians, and two and a half million Jews.

The chief linguistic result of this multilingual setting was a large number of loan words, which added to the many new words that were introduced as a consequence of the first period of settlement. In that early period, most of the words had been to do with new fauna and flora, or with notions deriving from contact with the Indian tribes. Now there were many words from Spanish, French, German, Dutch, and the other immigrant languages, which were increasingly becoming a part of the American environment. At the same time, an enormous number of coinages were in-

troduced-words and phrases based on earlier English elements which reflected the many social and cultural developments in American history. Specific events and activities, such as cattle ranching, the railroad, gambling, the gold rush, and the new political system added thousands of new words, senses, and idioms to the language. Many of these words and phrases have entered the standard language, and are used wherever English is spoken. But there remains a substantial distinctive vocabulary restricted the United States, along with several features of grammar, speaking and pronunciation that combine to set 'American English' off from 'British English' and the other varieties in the world.

Pronunciation Features. American pronunciation shows certain well-marked differences from British use. Perhaps the most noticeable of these differences is in the vowel sound in such words: fast, path, grass, dance, and can't, half, and so on. Next difference between British and American pronunciation is in the treatment of the 'r'. In the received pronunciation of England this sound has disappeared except before vowels. It is heard when it occurs before another consonant or at the end of a word unless the next word begins with a vowel. In many parts of America, the 'r' is pronounced in all positions. Thirdly the pronunciation of the 'o' in such words as 'not', 'lot', 'hot', etc., is changed from British use. In England this is still an open 'o' pronounced with the lips rounded, but in America except in parts of New England it has commonly lost its rounding and in most words has become a sound identical in quality with the way of 'father', only short.

Apart from the regular differences, such as the pronunciation of /r/ after vowels in much of American English, there are several individual words which are pronounced differently. Here are some of the frequently used ones.

— 'Schedule' begins with two consonants in American English /'

skedʒul/, but with one in British English /'ʃedjuːl/.

— The middle vowel of 'tomato' rhymes with /ei/ in the second syllable in American English, but in British English the sound is /tə'maːtəu/.

— The first syllable of 'lever' rhythms with that of /'levə/ in American English, but with /'liːvə/ in British English.

— Conversely, the first syllable of 'leisure' rhymes with /'liːʒə/ in American English, but with /'leʒə/ in British English.

— 'Route' rhymes with /raut/ for many American English speakers; it is always like /ruːt/ in British English.

— 'Vase' rhymes with /vaːz/ in American English, with /veis/ in British English.

— 'Docile' is /'dɔsil,'dɔsail/ in American English, but /'dəusail/ in British English.

— 'Herb' id pronounced without the initial /h/ in American English, but with /h/ in British English.

— Many words have differences in pronunciation between the two: ballet, debris, address, inquiry, magazine, either, fertile, sterile, bean, necessary, secretary, …

Difference In Spelling. Some typical examples of spelling differences follow. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that some American spelling are now in use in British English (judgment, inquire, encyclopedia) and some British English spelling are used in US (enclose, judgement).

BrE -ou- colour, honour, mould, smoulder
AmE -o- color, honor, mold, smolder

BrE en- enclose, endorse, enquiry, ensure
AmE in- inclose, indorse, inquiry, insure

BrE -ae/oe- anaesthetic, encyclopaedia, foetus, manoeuvre
AmE -e- anesthetic, encyclopedia, fetus, maneuver

BrE -re center, litre, theatre, fibre
AmE -er center, liter, theater, fiber

BrE -ce defence, offence, licence (noun)
AmE -se defense, offense, license (noun/verb)

BrE -ll- libellous, quarrelling, traveled, jewellery, woolen
AmE -l- libelous, quarreling, traveled, jewelry, woolen

BrE -l- fulfil, skilful, instalment
AmE -ll- fulfill, skillful, installment

And there are many individual items:
BrE cheque, gaol, kerb, moustache, plough, storey, tyre
AmE check, jail, cerb, mustache, plow, story, tire

BrE tsar, pyjamas, programme, kidnapper, draught
AmE czar, pajamas, program, kidnaper, draft

Differences In Grammar. There are many small points of difference in the grammar of the two varieties, though the influence of American English on British English is such that many of the usages, which were once restricted to the former now appear in the latter.

BrE	AmE
River Thames	Hudson River
half an hour	a half hour
in future	in the future
I burnt it	I burned it
I shan't tell anyone	I won't tell anyone
I'd like you to go now	I'd like for you to go now
I'm visiting her tomorrow	I'm visiting with her tomorrow
I want to get out	I want out
I'll see you at the weekend	I'll see you over the weekend
Look out of the window	Look out the window

...

***Difference In Vocabulary*.** There are many words that are used in both American English and British English, but with a difference of meaning.

	BrE	AmE
billion	a thousand million	a million million
dumb	stupid, mute	mute
homely	plain (people)	domestic
knock up	get a woman pregnant	get someone to answer
nervy	cheeky	nervous
pants	trousers	underpants
school	any educational institute	primary and secondary levels only
smart	intelligent	intelligent or groomed

The following words in two groups have the same meaning in certain contexts of use.

BrE	AmE
flat	apartment
sweets	candy
post	mail
vest	undershirt
naught	zero
pavement	sidewalk
peep	peek
petrol	gas
zip	zipper
coach	tutor

...

American Dialects. Certain features of pronunciation characteristic of a part of New England and others associated with many parts of the South are so easily recognized and so well known that for a long time it was customary to distinguish three main dialects in American English — the New England dialect, the Southern dialect, and General American, meaning the dialect of all the rest of the country.

Different Opinions About The Two Main Varieties. In the mid 19th century, some people were predicting that within 100 years British English and American English would be mutually unintelligible. It has not happened. However, the same predictions continue to be made. One opinion states that the differences between the two varieties will be increased at least, and the two varieties will develop in their respective directions in the new century. On the other hand, another opinion is that the globalization in economy and communication will narrow the difference between British English and American English. All Englishes will give up

some of their own local or regional language elements, and adopt cosmopolitan language features. The English language will be a global lingua franca in the new century.

3. Canadian English
第三节 加拿大英语

导读:

从历史来看,自 1604 年开始,加拿大有 159 年法属殖民时期。自 1763 年开始,英国统治并控制加拿大长达一百多年。长期以来,加拿大英法两大民族在同一社会中,共求生存与发展,促成了双语制的形成。今天英语和法语同为加拿大的官方语言,两种语言在所有议会机构和联邦政府中有着同等的地位与权力。今天,有 67%的加拿大人只会讲英语,18%的加拿大人只会讲法语,13%多一点的人会讲两种语言,2%的人既不会讲英语也不会讲法语。大多数两种语言都会讲的人,其母语是法语。讲英语的大多数人是英国人的后裔。但是,由于加拿大远离英国,加上加拿大社会早已形成,所以在语音方面,尽管加拿大英语在美国人听来就像是英国英语,但是,今天加拿大英语与英国英语已不相同。在北美,加拿大与美国山水比邻,与美国有着相同的移民背景,加拿大英语在很大程度上与美国英语相似。然而,加拿大英语也不是美国英语。在语法结构上,加拿大英语与英国英语没有什么不同,可是,在语音和词汇方面英语语言在加拿大变化较大。加拿大英语的这种自身独立性日益显现出来。

***British Canada*.** By the middle of the 18th century the French in North America realized that they could not avoid a fight to the death with the British and their American colonists. At that time in France the

French king, Louis XV, was too busy with his wars with Prussia to bother much more about what was going on in the 'Land of Ice and Snow', So the French troops in Canada did not receive the supplies they needed so badly. After the Seven Years' War from 1756 to 1763, the French were forced to give up every inch of land in North America and the whole of Canada came under the British rule. But the British allowed the French colonists, all 60,000 of them, to stay on, and they did not try and change the French way of life or their religion. The French colony on the St. Lawrence was reorganized in 1763 as the British province of Quebec. The first British settlers in Canada were American refugees who refused to fight against the British army in the War of American Independence (1775 - 1783).

Canadian Nation. Canada occupies a vast territory, embracing several regions distinguished from one another by climate, topography, network ties, orientation, and all the other factors that naturally accrue to geophysical spread. Socio-cultural perspectives are further complicated by the existence within the Canadian boundaries of two long-standing national consciousnesses, which simultaneously share Canadian nationality and maintain their own. Quebec is the power base for francophone minority, equal partners in Confederation since its inception in 1867. Newfoundland joined Confederation only in 1949 after centuries of colonial ties to Britain and self-government. By the Statute of Westminster in 1931 the British Dominions, including Canada, were formally declared to be partner nations with Britain and "equal in status, in no way subordinate to each other", and bound together only by their loyalty to a common Crown. Since then Canada became a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Language Policy — Bilingualism. English and French are the two official languages in Canada. They have equal status and

rights in all institutions of Parliament and the Federal Government. The Official Language Act of 1969 does not oblige citizens to learn both official languages. But because most Canadians do not know the other language, it is necessary for the Federal Government institutions to provide services for them in their own language. Today in Canada 67% of people speak English only and 18% French only. Little more than 13% speak both languages and 2% speak neither. French is the mother tongue of the majority of those who speak both languages.

Historically French colonists first settled in Canada during the early 1600s. For the next 150 years, France ruled eastern Canada as a colony called New France. England's victory in the French and Indian War ended France's power in North America, and Quebec was given to Britain In 1763. Since 1763 as more and more immigrants came from Britain, French Canadian have struggled to preserve their language and culture. For a long time the struggle on the language front was aimed at having French, the language of the majority in Quebec, fully recognized as the Quebec's primary language. In an effort to keep Quebec stay within the Canadian family, the Canadian government has followed a policy of bilingualism since 1969 when the Official Language Act made both French and English the official languages appear on Canada's postage stamps and money. And both of these languages are used in the debates of the Canadian parliament at the national capital in Ottawa. English and French are the official languages of Canada, and all regions are institutionally bilingual. In the rest of Canada, as well as in Ottawa, people have a choice of using either French or English in their dealings with federal offices. Bilingualism represented an effort to recognize the rights of Canada's French-speaking minority. Today almost all modern institutions involved in public and private, cultural, scientific, legal, economic and political life work in both French and English within Canada. French-speaking and English-

speaking Canadians share institutions which operate in both official languages.

Linguistic Features. Because of its origins, Canadian English has a great deal in common with the rest of the English spoken in North America, and is often difficult to distinguish for people who live outside the region. To British people, Canadians may sound American; to Americans, they may sound British. Canadians themselves insist on not being identified with either, and certainly there is a great deal of evidence in support of this view.

The vocabulary looks very 'mixed', with American and British items coexisting — such as 'tap' (US faucet) and 'porridge' (US oatmeal) alongside 'gas' (Br petrol) and 'billboard' (Br boarding). Vehicle terms are typically American: trucks, fenders, trunks, cabooses, etc. There is a greater likelihood of encountering British spellings, though the American model is gradually becoming more widespread, especially in popular publications: such words as 'curb', 'jail', and 'tire' are normally spelled in the American way. Newspapers tend to use American spellings, and learned journals and school textbooks to use British.

In pronunciation, Canadian English has several important identifying features, notably the sound of the 'ou' diphthong, which in words like 'out' sounds 'oat'; moreover there is a contrast between such words as 'out' and 'house' and those such as 'loud' and 'houses'. Most Canadians rhyme such pairs as 'cot' and 'caught' (as do many US speakers and most Scots). There is also a social preference for the British pronunciation of words like 'tune', 'due' and 'news', with a /j/ after the first consonant, rather than using the US 'toon', 'do', 'nooz' (though the latter pronunciations are native to many Canadians). This has become one of the usage issues in the country, with broadcasters' attention being drawn to the point. A commonly sited feature of Canadian English occurs

in conversation — the use of 'eh?' as a tag with rising intonation at the end of a sentence (So she went into Lincoln, eh?). However, although it is widespread in the speech of Canadians, it is by no means unique to the area, being also found in several other parts of the English-speaking world, such as Scotland, New Zealand, Australia, and Jamaica.

There are many words originating in Canada, often borrowings from American Indian languages, some of which have entered English directly, and sometimes through the medium of French. Examples include 'caribou', 'reeve' (mayor), 'riding' (constituency), 'skookum' (strong). Ice-hockey terminology, such as 'puck', 'face-off', 'rush' and 'slot', comes from this region. There are around 10,000 words listed in the *Dictionary of Canadianisms*, though many of these are restricted to certain dialect areas. The regional dialects of Canada, both rural and urban, have been little studied. There is a widespread impression that Canadian speech is uniform from one end of the continent to the other, but this is a superficial impression, which ignores important differences in such areas as Newfoundland, Quebec, the more isolated parts of the country, and the inner cities.

Canadian English, as would be expected, has much in common with that of the United States while retaining a few features of British pronunciation and spelling. Where alternative forms exist the likelihood for a particular choice to be British or American varies with region, education, and age. British items such as 'chips', 'servicette', and 'corps' tend to occur more frequently in the West, while the more common American choices 'French fries', 'napkin', and 'grove' tend to occur in the East. British spelling such as 'colour' and pronunciations such as 'schedule' with an initial /ʃ/ occur most frequently throughout Canada among more highly educated and older speakers. In addition there are a number of words with meanings that are neither British nor American but

peculiarly Canadian. Thus one finds 'aboiteau' (dam), 'Bluenose' (Nova Scotian), 'Innuit' (Eskimo), 'mukluk' (Eskimo boot), 'saltchuck' (ocean) and 'skookum' (powerful, brave). *The Dictionary of Canadianisms*, published in Canada's Centennial Year, will allow historical linguists to establish in detail the sources of Canadian English. Many of the earlier settlers in Canada came from the United States, and the influence of the United States has always been very strong. A writer in the Canadian Journal in 1857 complained of the new words adopted from American English, "imported by travelers, daily circulated by American newspapers, and eagerly incorporated into the language of our Provincial press". Needless to say, he considered the influence wholly bad, and his words are still echoed by Canadians who deplore the wide circulation of American books and magazines in Canada and in recent years the further influence of movies and television. Nevertheless a linguistically informed opinion would have to concede that in language as in other activities "it is difficult to differentiate what belongs to Canada from what belongs to the United States, let alone either from what might be called General North American".

4. Australian English

第四节　澳大利亚英语

导读：

1788年英国对澳大利亚开始殖民统治，澳大利亚的殖民化一直延续到1900年。1901年澳大利亚的6个殖民地结成同盟，建立澳大利亚联邦。长期以来，英语是这个国家的官方语言和民间用语。今天98.6%的澳大利亚人讲英语。可以说，除了英国以外，世界上最广泛使用英语的国家就是澳大利亚。经过200年

的历史变迁，澳大利亚英语形成了其独特的语言现象，其中最为明显的特点是松弛的非正式性，它反映了这个国家轻松而悠闲的生活方式和随和而又相对平等的人际关系。在语音方面，澳大利亚英语有着较强的伦敦东区方言的口音。在词汇方面，澳大利亚英语发展了一些与本地区相关的词汇。土著语言对澳大利亚英语的影响很小，只限于对土著语言中较少的地名和动植物名称词汇的吸纳。澳大利亚英语大致分为三种类别：文雅英语、普通英语和粗放英语。澳大利亚英语没有很突出的地区方言。总之，澳大利亚英语基本源于英国英语，这是有其历史原因的。它不具有很强的区域特殊性，这就决定了该地区语言使用的同一性，加上它对土著语言的排斥，从而保持了该地区英语的纯洁性。这样，澳大利亚英语因其语言特征而成为了这片土地上的“普通话”。

***Discovery Of Australia*.** Australia was discovered by James Cook in 1770, and within twenty years Britain had established its first penal colony at Sydney, thus relieving the pressure in the overcrowded gaols of England. From 1788, for over 50 years, about 130,000 prisoners were transported. 'Free' settlers, as they were called, began to enter the country from the very beginning, but they did not achieve substantial numbers until the mid-nineteenth century. From then on, the immigrants came in increasing numbers. By 1850, the population of Australia was about 400, 000, and by 1900 nearly four million.

***Status Of English In Australia*.** The English language is now completing 200 years of continuous usage in Australia. In that time it has supplanted the original languages of the continent, and recruited most descendants of non-English speaking immigrants, so that today it is the overwhelmingly dominant tongue throughout Australia. Several features of the Australian situation yield a unique insight on the development and diversification of English: its geographic isolation, its social origins as a pe-

nal colony, and its recent wave of non-English speaking immigrants. Australian English has experienced language and dialect contact, but for most of the last two centuries Australia may have had the highest proportion of monolingual English speakers of any country in the world. The status of the English language in Australia is today, and has been since British colonization, that of the national language. It overwhelmingly dominates the linguistic landscape, both demographically and functionally. This is not to say that Australia is a monolingual country; on the contrary, a large number of languages are spoken within its borders. But the English language dwarfs all others in terms of both number of speakers and the social roles it is used for.

Demographically speaking, English is 'regularly used', according to the 1976 census, by 98.6% of the population over the age of five. Of these, over four-fifths speak English natively, with the balance having greater or lesser ability as second language speakers. The teaching of English as a second language is a small industry, with extensive government supported programmes such as the Adult Migrant Education Service providing initial English training to most newly arriving immigrants.

In terms of social domains of use, English is again paramount. For most of the population it is the first and only language, and hence is used in all domains and activities. It is the language to government, education, the courts, business, and public life generally. For most people it is also the language of the home, of child-rearing, and private social interaction. Even among non-native speakers there is a certain amount of shift to English in private domains.

The other principal non-users of English are recent migrants. Since World War II, non-English speaking migrants have come to Australia in huge numbers. Greeks, Italians, Lebanese, and Vietnamese have all come and formed substantial communities in major Australian cities.

These communities are following a fairly typical course of linguistic assimilation, with some shift to English in the first generation. Against this trend, however, many communities are engaged in language maintenance efforts, usually through special community schools emphasizing fluency and literacy in the community language and knowledge of the community culture and homeland.

Thus, the status of English in Australia is like that of English in the United States: commanding the linguistic landscape, the language of virtually all public life and most private life, but coexisting with a number of indigenous and immigrant languages. English has taken root and flourished in Australia, developing into a distinctive and unique variety. In subsequent sections we will attempt to characterize this Australian variety of English, focusing on three issues: first, the autonomy of Australian English: the unique aspects of its nature and history; second, its apparent unity from the standpoint of dialect geography; and third, its great internal social diversity. These aspects of Australian English have long attracted the attention of linguistic observers, yielding a large literature to which we can only provide a modest introduction in the present format.

Vocabulary Identity. Perhaps the most striking feature of Australian English is its relaxed informality. This seems to reflect the country's relaxed lifestyle and its people's informal, relatively egalitarian relationships. For example, the well-known Australian use of 'mate' ('How're you going, mate?') as a form of address between friends is merely a way for a speaker to put their listener at ease: it indicates none of the disrespect towards the listener that the word 'mate' frequently signals in Britain. Australians often show this informality in speech by using shortened forms of words and names. For example, names of things which are thought to be small or pleasant, friendly or amusing often take a '-y' or '-ie' ending: 'mozzie' for mosquito, 'footie' for football, even 'pol-

lie' for politician, and of course 'Aussies' for Australians. Sometimes, words are shortened by using an '-o' ending: 'arvo' for afternoon, 'lingo' for language, and 'smoko' for a smoking break. Often such words ending in '-o' may be disrespectful, for example, 'garbo' for garbage collector, 'reffo' for a refugee, 'weirdo' for an odd or strange person, 'blotto' for drunk and 'nasho' for compulsory national military service.

Another feature of the Australian vernacular is the liberal use of vulgar or profane language, often with little or no offensive or obscene meaning. In most cases, this appears not to be gratuitous profanity, but rather to reflect the lack of gentility, the rugged character and the low level of education of the early white settlers (convicts, stockmen and the like) who contributed to the shaping of Australian English. It may also be regarded in part as a reflection of the laid-back and mildly 'larrikin' or subversive character of the nation. Thus, expletive epithets such as 'bloody', 'damn' and even some taboo words, such as 'fucking', have become greatly devalued in meaning and are now much less shocking than, for example, in British English. Similarly, the expression 'you bastard', used in non-angry or jocular contexts, has even acquired overtones of mateship (affection) and compassion (as in 'you poor bastard').

The main source of settlers, and thus the main influence on the language, was Britain. Many of the convicts came from London and Ireland, and feature of Cockney and Irish English can be traced in the characteristic pronunciation patterns still heard today. Many of the words now thought of as Australian in fact started out in Britain, and some can still be heard in British local dialects. On the other hand, in recent years influence of American English has been apparent, so that the country now displays a curious lexical mixture.

Australian English uses many words, which would not be understood

in England or America. Some of these are old words, which have acquired new meanings by being applied to new things. Thus the word 'robin' is used for various birds not known in Europe. The word 'jackass' (shortened from laughing jackass) means a bird whose cry is like a donkey's bray. Other words have been borrowed from the aboriginal languages of Australia and from Maori in New Zealand. The Australian calls a rowdy street loafer a 'larrikin'. A 'swagman' is a man traveling through the 'bush' (back country) carrying a 'swag' (tramp's bundle). Where an American talks of a 'ranch', the Australian speaks of a 'station' and, distinguishes between a 'sheep station' and a 'cattle station'. A 'boundary rider' is one who patrols an estate and keeps the owner informed concerning every part of it.

***Aboriginal Influence*.** There are some words embedded in Australian English that derive from non-English sources, most notably from the languages of the native people, the aborigines. Place names and names of native plants and animals often derive from local languages. Thus, among names for animals, we have: kangaroo, koala, wombat, brumby (a small horse), galah (a small, pink and grey cockatoo), barramundi (a lungfish) and bunyip (a fabulous amphibious monster). Many of the words that have an Aboriginal source are quite removed from their parent word, having been taken up originally by white settlers who had not mastered the sounds of the local tongue and then passed down, quite haphazardly, until a standard spelling was (often quite fortuitously) decided upon. What indeed is surprising is that the aboriginal influence on the Australian English has been so limited. People usually think of Australian English as characterized by such aboriginal borrowings; but in fact the English settlers took very few words from the native languages spoken in the two countries. The reasons are two-fold. Firstly, the white settlers were simply not interested in the local languages, feeling that their own

technological superiority meant they had little to learn from the local language or culture. Secondly, the Aborigines were very little numerous when the Europeans arrived, perhaps 200,000 of each race at the beginning of the 19th century. The Aborigines were nomadic, contact was occasional, and there were many language differences (over 200 languages were in use at the time). The marked regional variation of Aboriginal languages meant that taking on any one language meant in little widespread application or currency. As a result, there are very few etymological examples in Australian English that relate to or derive from Aboriginal culture and life style. Most of the Aboriginal words are plant and animal names. About a third of Australian place names are unmistakably Aboriginal ones, such as Wolloomooloo, Bugarribbee, Warragumby, and so on.

***Pronunciation Identity*.** The English of Australia not only is characterized by interesting differences of vocabulary, but it varies strikingly in pronunciation from the received standard of England. Australian English has three varieties: Cultivated Australian, General Australian, and Broad Australian. Cultivated Australian, which is not very different from the BBC or Queen's English spoken in southern Britain, is spoken regularly by only a small minority of people. General Australian, the variety spoken by over half the population, is a still careful but much more relaxed kind of speech. Broad Australian is the most heavily accented variety. Broad Australian, the variety most people immediately recognize as Australian English, is not dissimilar to the Cockney dialect spoken in some parts of London; this is because many of the earliest white settlers in Australia were convicts and their jailers, and came from south-eastern England. The accent of the majority of Australians has characteristics often associated with Cockney, especially in the quality of the vowels and diphthongs, which occur in the words 'say', 'so', 'beat', 'high', and 'how'. Because an Australian's pronunciation of 'hay' may register

on an American as 'high', or 'basin' as 'bison', these systematic differences have been the source of misunderstandings between speakers of General Australian and speakers of other national varieties, though not among speakers of General Australian themselves. Within Australia there are possible difficulties in the different patterns of General Australian, the dialect of the great majority, and Cultivated Australian, a majority accent that approaches the received standard of England. Social varieties such as these, and Broad Australian at the uncultivated extreme of the scale, are the only significant dialectal differences in a country where regional variations are negligible. The distinctive characteristics of General Australian pronunciation and the uniformity of the dialect throughout the continent are attributed to the circumstance that the early settlers were deported prisoners and adventurers often drawn from the lower classes of England. Although detailed information about the dialects spoken by these settlers is lacking, it is clear that the predominant varieties were lower-class urban dialects of southeastern England. In Australia the constant moving of convicts from place to place brought about the development of a mixed dialect, which became homogeneous throughout the settled territory and distinct from any of the British dialects that contributed to the mixture. The English of Australia offers an interesting example of the changes that take place in a language transplanted to a remote and totally different environment.

Absence Of Dialect Differences. In relation to pronunciation few regional dialectal differences have been noted, which is surprising, considering the vast distances between the centers of population in Australia, and the considerable size of some of the cities. The country is some thirty times the size of Britain, with large tract of uninhabited desert, and the bulk of the population is concentrated in the fertile areas near the coasts. Today, two cities, Sydney and Melbourne, contain near-

ly half the population.

A few regional lexical differences have been noted, for example, a small ice cream carton is a 'pixie' in Victoria, and a 'bucket' in New South Wales; a child's push-chair is a 'stroller' in New South Wales, and a 'pusher' in South Australia. This kind of variation should be on the increase as cities grow, and immigrants arrive. The non-English-speaking immigrants, in particular, may exercise some influence on the development of Australian English: some 20% of the population now comes from a background where English is a foreign language.

Although there seems to be little regional speech variation, factors to do with social prestige are important. In particular, Received Pronunciation continues to exert a considerable influence. The variety known as 'cultivated' Australian English, used by about 10% of the population, shows most strongly: in some speakers the accent is very close to educated southern British, with just a hint in certain vowels and in the intonation of its Australian accent, used by some 30%, and most clearly identified as 'Australian' in the popular mind abroad from the characters portrayed by such comedians as Paul Hogan and Barry Humphreys. In between, there is a continuum of accents often called simply 'general' Australian, used by the majority of the population. A similar situation exists in New Zealand, though that country tends to be rather more conservative in speech style, with RP-influenced accents more dominant, and it lacks the extremely broad accent found in Australia.

The accent variations have provoked not a little controversy in recent years, with the broad Australian accent in particular having its critics and its defenders. There is ongoing debate about whether Australians should be proud of their distinctive speech, and stress its features, or whether they should aspire to use a more conservative style, associated with the traditional values of educated British speech. The picture has been com-

plicated by a generation of Australian comedians who exaggerate and satirize the accent, and whose work has become universally known through the medium of television.

By contrast, however, with Britain or North America, where both the meaning and the pronunciation of words vary greatly according to region, the Australian accent in its three varieties is neither region-specific nor class-specific. Whereas in America and especially in Britain, a person's regional origin and educational or social status are often easily detected by listening to their speech, in Australia, it is almost impossible to generalize about a person's background in this way: the local 'pollie' may sound the same as the local 'garbo'.

In conclusion, Australian English is an autonomous national variety, undergoing internal development of the other major varieties of English around the world. It has acquired its unique national character primarily through dialect contact and leveling in the early years of settlement. Internally it shows a relative absence of geographic differentiation combined with a striking presence of social differentiation. Both features are traceable to aspects of its social history: high internal mobility combined with the 'tyranny of distance' from England yield geographic homogeneity, while the social divisions between convicts and guards in the early period perpetuated socio-linguistic diversity. It is a national language in all senses, dwarfing in both public and private domains all the other languages spoken in Australia. An emerging tradition of quantitative socio-linguistic studies is beginning to demonstrate the insights that Australian English can offer us into the nature and continuing diversification of that multinational language once spoken only by the English.

5. South Asian English (Indian English)
第五节 南亚英语(印度英语)

导读:

南亚英语指印度、孟加拉、巴基斯坦、斯里兰卡等南亚国家使用的英语，其中印度英语是南亚英语的主体。1757 年的普拉西战役标志着英国统治印度的开始。1857 年英国结束了东印度公司在印度的统治，开始了英国政府的直接统治。1947 年印度获得独立。独立后的印度，仍然继续保持英语在政府、教育、司法等领域中的特殊地位。可以说，英语是英国给印度留下的一大遗产。20 世纪 60 年代，印度议会通过的《官方语言法》承认 15 种语言为国家语言，并规定印地语为官方语言，英语为“正式的联系语言”。在语言众多的印度社会中（印度有 106 种语言，500 多种方言)，英语不失为一种方便而中立的，具有重大影响的通用语言。今天，印度英语中混合着一些印度语言的语言成分，包括梵文的语言成分，其语言特点随着印度社会和文化的发展越来越明显地体现出来，而且部分语言特点已被固定下来，为广大印度人所接受。今后，印度英语在印度及南亚的地位只会日益巩固起来。

***New Regional Englishes*.** In recent decades, increasing attention has been drawn to the emergence of new varieties of English around the world, spoken by people for whom English is a second language. In India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Singapore, Malaysia, the countries of West and East Africa, and many other areas, which retain links with the era of British colonialism, the English language is used officially or semi-officially as a means of communication. Large numbers of people are involved; and, as a consequence, there is an inev-

itable tendency to develop new local norms of usage that in the course of time become adopted by educated speakers and thus form new local standards—the same process as affected the development of new mother-tongue varieties of English. The emergence of these second-language varieties, and the uneasy relationship which sometimes exists between them and the standard British or American varieties, is a major feature of the current world English-language situation.

The English language of the subcontinent of India, sometimes called South Asian English, provides the clearest example of the way these developments have affected the language for numbers of speakers. There are many varieties of English spoken within the region, ranging from a pidgin English to a standard English that is very close to Britain, including the use of Received Pronunciation. Some of these varieties have developed over a long period of time, deriving from the period of colonial rule from the end of the 18th century until 1947. As a result, there are hundreds of distinctive lexical items; some derive from local Indian languages, some are new combinations of English words, or British English words, which have been given new senses. Especially when the subject matter is specialized, for instance, in relation to religion, agriculture, politics, a newspaper account can appear unintelligible to outside eyes.

Because of the length of the British presence in India, and the countries' vast populations, South Asian English has developed to a more distinctive level than is found in other countries where English is used as a second language. But this may be only a temporary situation. Any country, which relies on English as its primary medium of communication, sooner or later, will find itself developing its own norms of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. And at that point, a critical question of identity is posed, which must be answered at various levels, in particular, by government officials in charge of educational programs, and by writers

wishing to express their identity, and the identity of their country, in a literary way. Which variety should they use In the case of teaching, should they choose the internationally recognized Standard English as a model for teachers to follow in class, or should they recommend the use of the regional standard, which is the one the children will hear and see around them? In the case of literary expression, should authors opt for Standard English, which all guarantee them a readership throughout the world, or should they write in their regional standard, which will give them a more authentic and personal 'voice'? Or should they stay with their mother tongue, and not write in English at all?

These questions are fiercely and emotionally debated in all parts of the world where new varieties of second-language English are emerging. There is a great deal of stylistic experiment, and several distinct genres have developed. The problem is greatest for poets, novelists, and dramatists in the newly independent nations, where there is often considerable antagonism towards English, seen as a symbol of colonial oppression. The dilemma is acute. Should they use the 'enemy's' language, with all the alien awkwardness that comes with the use of a second language for literary expression, in order to achieve an international audience? Or should they use their mother tongue, for which they have an immediate sensitivity, but which will place severe constrains on their potential readership? The solution, many writers maintain, is to concentrate on developing the English of their own region, making it into a language which belongs to them, and with which they can identify.

Status Of English In India. India was once a British colony till 1947 and is now an independent country. Under the British rule, the single administrative entity, the conglomeration of diverse peoples lacked a uniform set of linguistic and cultural symbols that could be ideological for the purpose of creating an integrated national identity. English, there-

fore, the only language with 'an all-India circulation', offered itself as a 'neutral link language' across the diversity. After the independence, the English language in India has a complex relationship to the many Indian languages. A clearly identifiable Indian variety has emerged over the years. The country has accorded to English in its administrative and educational structures without the slightest damage to its national self-image. The Indian Constitution of 1950 recognizes 15 national languages, with Hindi as the official language and English as the associate official language, with a directive that English was to be replaced by Hindi in a period of 15 years. Later the Official Language Act, 1963 (amended in 1967) was passed for continuing the use of English in official work. The act also lays down that both Hindi and English shall compulsorily be used for certain specified purposes, such as resolutions, general orders, rules, notifications, press communiqués, administrative and other reports, licenses, permits, contracts, agreements, etc. For all these years English has continued to be used as an official language, for various social and political reasons, and English has flourished even more after independence. This suggests that English is part of the cultural identity of India.

The national impact of Hindi, on the other had, has not been able to equal that of English and has led to English-Hindi rivalry, with each language continuing to compete for recognition as a pan-Indian language. Here, English has certain advantages over Hindi. Since it is not the language of any major group, it does not threaten any group's ethnic identity and hence is politically more acceptable. It is the main language of education, administration, the mass media, science and technology, and it has provided appropriate and stable registers in these areas. Hindi, despite government support, is still in the process of standardizing and codifying the specific registers. Therefore, it cannot provide much professional and linguistic mobility to its users. Any language, which aspires to re-

place English at the national level, needs to acquire the functional load of English. Above all, English has tremendous prestige in India, and the members of the elite community often communicate amongst themselves only in English. Since they control political and social resources, the language they speak is treated as the language of upward mobility. Internationally, English has emerged as a world language, used increasingly in diplomacy, trade and telecommunication, which again make it useful for the tiny fraction of Indians who require it for such purposes.

There are several factors working against Hindi. It is the mother tongue of the largest group spread over a wide geographical area, hence the other Indian communities feel that they would be professionally, politically, and socially disadvantaged were Hindi permitted to assume the central role. Since the protest of these communities often takes a violent form, the government has adopted a policy of maintaining the status quo. The greatest damage to the cause of Hindi, however, is being done by the protagonists of Hindi themselves. They have equated the question of national integration with Hindi and specifically with the 'pure', sanskritized variety of Hindi, which is not much understood even by educated native speakers of Hindi.

At the same time, the role of English has not been replacive and it has not succeeded in driving out any of the indigenous languages of India. In fact, in its long sojourn in India of over 300 years, it has been enriched by the Indian languages, and has enriched them in turn. Both attitudinally and linguistically, there is a growing awareness of the Indianness of English and a gradual distancing of Indian English from the native norms. The process of 'nativisation' of English in second language contexts is due not only to 'transfer' from local languages, but also to the pressures of a new cultural environment and fresh communicative needs. Other factors such as the absence of a native group, inadequate teaching

and acquisitional limitations, such as learning under compulsion, could also lead to innovations in the course of time.

Whatever the stated policies may be in the future, it is certain that the English language will be spoken and written by an influential minority of the Indian population, including leaders in government, education, and the press. It is also certain that the variety of English recognized as standard in India and in Pakistan, will be a distinctively South Asian variety in its pronunciation, syntax, and vocabulary. It will continue to be affected by the culture and native languages of South Asia, and in turn it will affect those languages and serve as the medium for Western influences on the culture.

***Linguistic Features Of Indian English*.** English in India has not only acquired a wide range of functions, but in its process of Indianization it has linguistically evolved its own characteristic features at the phonological, lexical, syntactic and even discourse level. These features are now becoming increasingly accepted, since English is treated not as a foreign language but as part of the cultural identity of India. In pronunciation, certain sounds result from the systematic influence of Indian languages. For speakers of the variety of Hindi, which does not permit 'sk', 'st', and 'sp' at the beginning of words, English 'station' is regularly pronounced with as initial vowel /is'teiʃən/. In some varieties of Indian English /v/ and /w/ are not distinguished, and /t/, /d/, /l/, and /r/ are pronounced with retroflection. There are marked differences in pronunciation, due mainly to the different rhythm of the Indian languages native to the area: the syllables in Indian English are typically spoken with equal weight 'rat-tat-tat', and do not fall into the kind of strong and weak 'tum-te-tum' patterns found in British English.

In grammar, there are several points of difference, but few have been studied in detail. They include:

— The use of the 'progressive' form of such verbs as 'have', 'know', 'think', or 'understand': I am understanding it new; He is knowing the answer.

— The use of repeated forms: 'Who and who left early?' 'They went running running.'

— Collective nouns are often made plural: 'Litters' (waste paper), 'fruits' (fruit), 'aircrafts' (aircraft).

— Unfamiliar compound nouns appear: chalk - piece, key - bunch, schoolgoer.

— Prepositions are sometimes used in different ways: 'pay attention on', 'accompany with', 'combat against'.

— The word order of certain constructions can vary: 'Eggs are there' (for British 'There are eggs.'), 'Who you have come to see?' (Who have you come to see?)

— These usages may alter: 'I am here since this morning.'

— 'Isn't it?' is often used at the end of a sentence in an invariable way (like 'n'est - ce pas' in French): 'You're going now, isn't it?'

In vocabulary dozens of words and phrases, which strike British and American speakers as strange are the natural expressions of cultural contexts that are absent in Western society. For example, when a person wonders the name of somebody in respect, he would ask like this, "What is your good name?" Indian English is characterized by greetings such as 'bow my forehead', 'fall at your feet', 'blessed my hovel with the good dust of your feet'; abuses and curses such as 'you eater of your masters', 'you of the evil stars', 'the incestuous sister sleeper'; blessings and flattery such as 'thou shalt write from an inkwell of your shoe and my head'; and modes of address such as 'cherisher of the poor', 'king of pearls'. In newspaper and in colloquial expression as well we can find a lot of Hindi words. For example, people in Delhi often say '/eg minit/',

meaning 'one minute'. In colloquialism, Indian people seem not to use noun plural forms. They say 'ten rupee' instead of 'ten rupees'.

Additionally, there are many Indian words entering the English language in various stages:

sari, guru, cot, rupee, jungle, loot, yoga, sitar, khaki, bandana, brahmin, bungalow, cheroot, chintz, chutney, coolie, curry, juggernaut, jute, rajah, verandah, …

6. South African English

第六节 南非英语

导读:

本节中讲到的南非英语指南非共和国的人们使用的英语，并非指非洲南部国家的英语。早在 1652 年，荷兰殖民主义者到达开普敦。18 世纪末，英国卷入其在南非的殖民扩张。1806 年英国控制了南非。1820 年英国开始移民南非。由于南非在成为英国殖民地之前，曾被荷兰人控制，所以在南非英语中，有许多词来自荷兰语。在发音方面，南非英语也类似澳大利亚英语的情况，带有伦敦东区方言（Cockney）口音，同时南非英语也受到南非荷兰语（Afrikaans，或称“布尔语”——荷兰语的变体）发音的很大影响。在南非，英语经历了 200 年的发展和变化，已形成其特有的语言现象。今天，英语和南非荷兰语同为官方语言。南非是一个双语制的社会，有一半多的人以英语为第一语言，他们也会讲南非荷兰语。

Establishment Of South African English. The term Southern Africa is in fact primarily a political rather than a geographical description of the countries south of the Equator, which have a historical

link with white South Africa. Traditionally, Southern Africa has included English-speaking countries, which are former colonies of Britain and some Portuguese-speaking countries. One further area where there is a substantial number of mother-tongue speakers of English is South Africa. Although Dutch colonists arrived in the Cape as early as 1652, British involvement in the region dates only from 1795, during the Napoleonic Wars, when an expeditionary force invaded. British control was established in 1806, and a policy of settlement began in earnest in 1820, when some 5,000 British were given land in the eastern Cape. English was made the official language of the region in 1822, and there was an attempt to anglicize the large Dutch-(or Afrikaans-) speaking population. English became the language of law, education, and most other aspects of public life. Further British settlements followed in the 1840s and 1850s, especially in Natal, and there was a massive influx of Europeans following the development of the gold and diamond areas of Witwatersrand in the 1870s. Nearly half a million immigrants, many of them English-speaking, arrived in the country during the last quarter of the 19th century.

The English language history of the region thus has many strands. There was initially a certain amount of regional dialect variation among the different groups of British settlers, with the speech of the London area predominant in the Cape, and Midlands and Northern speech strongly represented in Natal; but in due course a more homogeneous accent emerged — an accent what shares many similarities with the accents of Australia, which was also being settled during this period. At the same time, English was being used as a second language by the Afrikaans speakers, and many of the Dutch colonies took this variety with them on the Great Trek of 1836, as they moved north to escape British rule. An African variety of English also developed, spoken by the black population, who had learned the language mainly in mission schools, and which

was influenced in different ways by the various language backgrounds of the speakers. In addition, English came to be used, along with Afrikaans and often other languages, by those with an ethnically mixed background; and it was also adopted by the many immigrants from India, who arrived in the country from around 1860.

Present-day South African English thus comprises a range of varieties, but from a social point of view they are unified by the tension, which exists between the use of English and the use of Afrikaans. English has always been a minority language in South Africa. Afrikaans, which was given official status in 1925, is the first language of the majority of whites, including most of those in power, and acts as an important symbol of identity for those of Afrikaner background. It is also the first language of the most of the colored population. English is used by the remaining whites (of British background) and by increasing numbers of the majority black population (blacks outnumber whites by over four to one). There is thus a linguistic side to the political division, which has marked South African society in recent decades: Afrikaans is perceived by the black majority as the language of authority and repression; English is perceived by the white government as the language of protest and self-determination. Many blacks see English as a means of achieving an international voice, and uniting themselves with other black communities.

On the other hand, the contemporary situation regarding the use of English is more complex than this opposition suggests. For the white authorities, too, English is important as a means of international communication, and 'upwardly mobile' Afrikaners have become increasingly bilingual, with fluent command of an English that often resembles the British-influenced variety. The public statements by South African politicians, seen on world television, illustrate this ability. As a result, a continuum of accents exists, ranging from those that are strongly influenced

by Afrikaans to those that are very close to Received Pronunciation; and there are corresponding variations in grammar and vocabulary. Such complexity is inevitable in a country where the overriding issue is social and political identity, and people strive to maintain their deeply held feelings of national and ethnic identity in the face of opposition.

Status Of English In South Africa. In South Africa, English is a first language of a large percentage of the more than five million whites, and also of colored and Indian communities. But South Africa is essentially a bilingual country in which almost half of or more of those who speak English natively also have to speak Afrikaans. Both Afrikaans and English are used as official languages and are used in trade and business. In addition, Afrikaans functions as a national language for those South Africans who regard themselves as Afrikaners (i.e. white people who are by descent Dutch but who are now Africans and subscribe to the ideology of keeping themselves distinct and African). In South Africa both English and Afrikaans are used in the printed media, business, politics, law and government. This bilingualism is not very much in evidence, however, amongst the different non-white groups, particularly in the domains of political activities in English. In the majority of cases, they would rather send their children to English-medium schools where Afrikaans is only a taught subject. The majority of South Africans, however, acknowledge that Afrikaans is an important competitor to English, particularly in the mass medium, business, law and government. For the South Africans who speak different Bantu languages (mainly Sesotho, Zula and Xhosa), these languages enjoy almost equal prominence in television and radio, business, advertising, employment and, to a lesser degree, in the printed media. Among those who regard themselves as Afrikaners, political activity mostly goes on in Afrikaans, with some use of English. But in spite of the increased used of Afrikaans in public domains in South Africa, it is

still second to English in these domains. It is still used as a local vernacular or lingua franca and thus faces some of the same problems other languages elsewhere face against the predominance of English in public domains.

Linguistic Features. The present Republic of South Africa had been occupied successively by the Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantus, Portuguese, and Dutch before the English settlers came. From all these sources, but especially from Dutch and its South African development, Afrikaans, the English language has acquired elements. A few words, which occupied earlier in peculiarly South African contexts, have passed into the general English vocabulary. The great majority of Afrikanerisms (words and expressions borrowed from Dutch and Afrikaans) would still be generally meaningless in other parts of the English-speaking world, yet quite common in the daily life of South Africans. A recent compiled list of words and phrases which South Africans themselves consider to be characteristic of their variety of English includes 'biltong' (strips of dried meat), 'kopje' (hill) and so on.

As in Australian English, a number of good English words are used in quite new senses. South African racial policies have given a new meaning to 'location' as an area in which black Africans are required to live. 'Lands' in South Africa are just those portions of a farm that can be used for cultivation of crops, 'camp' refers to the fenced-in portion of a farm, and the 'leopard' (Afrikaans 'tier' from 'tyger') is sometimes called a 'tiger'. An African would find some familiar usages. A 'store' means a shop, large or small, and the South African also speaks of a 'storekeeper'. 'Cookies' (small cakes) is the same as our word, which we also learned from the Dutch. 'Divide' (wasteland) is said to be borrowed from American use. Occasionally an old word now lost to Standard English in England has been preserved in South Africa, although this does

not seem to have happened so often as in America. In grammar, the use of 'with' without an object (Can I come with?) can be found dialectally in this country, but we do not say "He threw me over the hedge with a rock" (i.e., "he threw a stone over the hedge and hit me"), a syntactic pattern that occurs in the English speech of Afrikaners and in the spoken language or relatively uneducated English speakers. In pronunciation the English of South Africa is a bit like that of Cockney, and it has also been much influenced by the pronunciation of Afrikaans and to a lesser extent by the speech of many Scottish schoolmasters. To Afrikaans it apparently owes not only the peculiar modification of certain vowels (e.g., /pen/ for pin; /kɛb/for cab, etc.), but also its higher pitch and the tendency to omit one of two more consonants at the end of a word (e.g., tex for text). South African shares with American English the general disposition to pronounce the 'r' when it appears in the spelling and to give full value to unaccented syllables.

7. Pidgin English

第七节 洋泾浜英语

导读：

从广义上讲，洋泾浜英语指不同语言的人们在交往中形成的混杂语言，这些混杂语言与标准英语相去甚远。使用洋泾浜英语的地域主要有两个：一个在大西洋西非及西印度群岛地区；一个在太平洋西南部，从中国沿岸到澳大利亚北部地区。洋泾浜英语的主要语言特点是简单化和随意性。这些特点表现在语言的各个方面——语音语调、词汇短语、语法结构，其语音更加乡土，词汇更加俚俗，句子结构更加松散。一般说来，洋泾浜英语的发展时间和空间是很有限的，它不像其他英语变体那样，随着时间的

推移，可形成自身的使用延续性和发展持续性。当然，也有例外的情况。从狭义上讲，洋泾浜英语指在旧中国港口等地，人们使用的那种不纯粹的混杂英语。本节主要讨论广泛意义的洋泾浜英语。

Meaning Of Pidgin. According to *Webster's College Dictionary*, *Random House*, 'pidgin' is an auxiliary language that has developed from the need of speakers of two languages to communicate and is primarily a simplified form of one of the languages, with a reduced vocabulary and grammatical structure.

All pidgin languages originally start when people who do not have a common language try to communicate with each other . Most of the present-day pidgins grew up along the trade routes of the word — especially in those parts where the British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch built up their empires overseas. We talk of 'pidgin English', 'pidgin French', and so on, depending on which language the pidgin derived from.

Pidgin English. Pidgin Englishes are mainly to be found in two 'families' — one in the Atlantic, one in the Pacific. The Atlantic varieties developed in West Africa, and were transported to the West Indies and America during the years of the slave trade. In Africa, they are still widely used in the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, and Cameroon. The Pacific varieties are found in a wide sweep across the south-western part of the ocean, from the coast of China to the northern part of Australia, in such places as Hawaii, Vanuatu, and Papua New Guinea. In the Americas, they are found, in a developed form, in most of the islands and on the mainland, spoken largely by the black population. Estimates vary, but probably about thirty-five million people speak or understand one or other of these forms of English.

***Characteristics Of Pidgin*.** Pidgins often have a very short life span. For example, while the Americans were in Vietnam, a pidgin English grew up there, but it quickly disappeared when the troops left. In a similar way, many pidgins, which grew up for trading purposes, have ceased to exist, because the countries, which were in contact, stopped trading with each other. On the other hand, if a trading contact is very successful, and contact builds up over the years, the people will very likely learn each other's language, and there will then be no reason for the continued use of the pidgin. Pidgin languages seem to be in a 'no win' situation, and it is rare to find one in existence for more than a century.

But it can happen. In multilingual parts of the world, the pidgin is found to be so useful that peoples in contact find they cannot do without it. The pidgin becomes a common language, or lingua franca. This happened to Sabir, a pidginized form of French used along the Mediterranean coast from the Middle Ages until the 20th century. It has happened in Nigeria. And above all, it has happened in Papua New Guinea, where Tok Pisin is known or used by over a million people – more than any other language in the country. Here is a piece of Tok Pisin, the local pidgin language in Papua New Guinea and after that there is the English translation.

Tok Pisin — Sapos yu kisim bagarap kisim namba bilong narapela draiva, sapos yu ken kisim naim bilong em na adres tu, na tokim polis long en. Noken paitim em o tok nogut long em.

English — If you have an accident, get the other driver's number, if possible his name and address and report it to the police. Do not fight him, or abuse him.

Generations of children's comic and films have promoted a weird picture of what a pidgin language is. People remember 'Me Tarzan – you

Jane', or other examples of primitive people barely able to communicate with each other. It can come as something of a shock, therefore, to realize that in many parts of the world pidgin languages are used routinely in such daily matters as news broadcasts, safety instructions, newspapers, and commercial advertising.

Of course, when a pidgin becomes widely used, its form changes dramatically. To begin with, pidgins are very limited forms of communication with few words, a few simple constructions, mainly commands, helped along by gestures and miming. Tarzan's style is not very far from reality, in such cases. But when a pidgin expands, its vocabulary increases greatly, it develops its own rules of grammatical construction, and it becomes used for all the functions of everyday life.

A very significant development can then take place that people begin to use the pidgin at home. As children are born into these families, the pidgin language becomes their mother tongue. When this happens, the status of the language fundamentally alters, and it comes to be used in a more flexible and creative way. Instead of being seen as subordinate to other languages in an area, it starts to compete with them. In such cases linguists no longer talk about pidgin languages, but about Creoles. Creolized varieties of English are very important throughout the Caribbean, and in the countries to which Caribbean people have emigrated — notably Britain. Black English in the United States is also Creole in origin.

There is often conflict between the Creole and Standard English in these places. The Creole gives its speakers their linguistic identity, as an ethnic group. Standard English, on the other hand, gives them access to the rest of the English-speaking word. It is not easy for governments to develop an acceptable language policy when such fundamental issues are involved. Should road signs be in Standard English or in Creole? Should Creole-speaking schoolchildren be educated in Standard English or in Cre-

ole? And which variety should writers use when contributing to the emerging literature of their country? Social and political circumstances vary so much that no simple generalization is possible — except to emphasize the need for Standard English users to replace their traditional dismissive attitude towards Creole speech with an informed awareness of its linguistic complexity as a major variety of modern English.

Chapter V English Present and Future

第五章 英语的现状与未来

1. English Today

第一节 今日英语

导读:

四百年前，英语仅只是不列颠岛上几百万英国人的语言。而今天，英语的使用遍布世界各地，成为一种世界通用语。这主要由三大因素来决定，一是这个语言的地域范围；二是这个语言的使用领域；三是使用这个语言的人数。目前，英语就是处于世界通用语的地位：使用地域最广，使用领域最宽，使用人数最多。世界贸易按时区分为三大地区：美洲区、欧洲区和亚洲区。在美洲区，人们使用英语和西班牙语；在欧洲区，人们使用英语、法语和德语；在亚洲区，情况稍微复杂一点，以印度为主的南亚地区多使用英语；以中国为主的东亚地区多使用汉语。世界上以英语为第一语言的人数近4亿，以英语为第二语言和教育语言或工作语言的人数更多。虽然以汉语为母语的人数大大超过以英语为母语的人数，但是，在世界其他地区，以汉语为第二语言的人数却不多。汉语除了在一些亚洲国家使用以外，几乎没有在世界其他地方的普及性。随着信息技术的发展和经济全球化的形成，英

语的使用范围还在不断扩大。

***Widespread Use Of English*.** In the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558 – 1603), the number of English speakers in the world is thought to have been between five and seven million. At the beginning of the reign of the second Queen Elizabeth in 1952, the figure had increased almost fifty-fold: 250 million, who spoke English as a mother tongue, and a further 100 million or so had learned it as a foreign language. The figures continue to creep up. The most recent estimates tell us that mother-tongue speakers are now close to 400 million. But this total is far exceeded by the numbers of people who use English as a foreign language. "Creep", perhaps, is not quite the right word, when such statistics are introduces.

What accounts for the scale of these increases? The size of the mother-tongue total is easy to explain. It's the Americans. The estimated population of the USA was about 255.5 million in 1992, of whom about 220 million spoke English as a mother tongue. The British, Irish, Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians, and South Africans make up most of the others — but even combined they don't reach 100 million. There's no doubt where the majority influence is. However, these figures are growing relatively slowly at present — at an average rate of about half a percent per annum. This is not where the drama lies.

A much more intriguing question is to ask what is happening to English in countries where people don't use it as a mother tongue. A highly complicated question, as it turns out. Finding out about the number of foreigners using English isn't easy, and that is why there is so much variation among the estimates. There are hardly any official figures. No one knows how many foreign people have learned English to a reasonable standard of fluency — or to any standard at all, for that matter. There are a

few statistics available — from the examination boards, for example — but these are only the tips of a very large iceberg.

***English As A Second Language*.** The iceberg is really in two parts, reflecting two kinds of language learning situation. The first part relates to those countries where English has some kind of special status in particular, where it has been chosen as an official language. This is the case in Ghana and Nigeria, for example, where the governments have settled on English as the main language to carry on the affairs of government, education, commerce, the media, and the legal system. In such cases, people have to learn English if they want to get on in life. They have their mother tongue to begin with one or other of the local languages and they start learning English, in school or in the street, at an early age. For them, in due course, English will become a language to fall back on, when their mother tongue proves to be inadequate for communication — talking to people from outside the country. For them, English becomes their 'second' language.

Why do these countries not select a local language for official use? The problem is how to choose between the many indigenous languages, each of which represents an ethnic background to which the adherents are fiercely loyal. Even if one language did have a clear majority, its selection would be opposed by the combined weight of the other speakers, who would otherwise find themselves seriously disadvantaged, socially and educationally. Inter-tribal tension, leading to unrest and violence, would be a likely consequence. By giving official status to an outside language, such as English, all internal languages are placed on the same footing. Everyone is now equally disadvantaged. It is a complex decision to implement, but at least it is fair. To talk of 'disadvantaged', though, is a little misleading. From another point of view, the population is now considerably 'advantaged', in that they thereby come to have access to a world

of science, technology, and commerce, which would otherwise not easily be available to them.

But why English? In many countries, the choice is motivated by the weight of historical tradition from the British or American colonial era. A similar pattern of development can be observed in countries, which were influenced by other cultures, such as the French, Spanish, Portuguese or Dutch.

Does this mean that we can obtain an estimate of the world's second-language English speakers simply by adding up the populations of all the countries involved? Unfortunately, it isn't so easy. Most of these countries are in undeveloped parts of the world, where educational opportunities are limited. The country may espouse English officially, but only a fraction of the population may be given an opportunity to learn it. The most dramatic example of this gap between theory and practice is India.

In 1991, the population of India was estimated to be 838 million. English is an official language here, alongside Hindi. Several other languages have special status in other own regions, but English is the language of the legal system; it is a major language in Parliament; and it is a preferred language in the universities and in the all-India competitive exams for senior posts in such fields as the civil service and engineering. Some 3,000 English newspapers are published throughout the country. There is thus great reason to learn to use the language well. But it is thought that those with an educated awareness of English may be as little as 3 percent of the population. Perhaps 10% or more, if we recognize lower levels of achievement, and include several varieties of pidgin English. In real terms, the English speakers of India may only number 70 millions — a small amount compared with the total population. On the other hand, this figure is well in excess of the population of Britain.

When all the estimates for second-language use around the world are

added up, we reach a figure of around 340 million speakers — about as many as the total of mother-tongue users. But we have to remember that most of these countries are in the parts of the world where the population increase is four times as great as that found in mother-tongue countries. If present trends continue, within a generation mother-tongue English use will have been left far behind.

English As A Foreign Language. The second part of the language-learning iceberg relates to people who live in countries where English has no official status, but where it is learned as a foreign language in schools, institutes of higher education, and through the use of a wide range of 'self-help' materials. There are only hints as to what the numbers involved might be. Even in the statistically aware countries of Western Europe, there are no reliable figures available for the number of people who are learning English as a foreign language or any other language, for that matter. In a continent such as South America, the total is pure guesswork.

The total most often cited in the mid-1980s was 100 million, based largely on the figures available from English-language examining boards, estimates of listeners to English-language radio programs, sales of English-language newspapers, and the like. But this figure did not take into account what is currently happening in the country where data about anything has traditionally been notoriously difficult to come by China.

In China, there has been an explosion of interest in the English language in recent years. In 1970, everyone was carrying a book of the thoughts of Chairman Mao; in 1979, everyone was carrying a book of elementary English; in 1983, it was thought, around 100 million people watched the BBC television series designed to teach the language, Follow Me; in 2001, students are busy taking examinations: College English Grade 4, Grade 6; TOFLE, GRE, IELTS, PETS, BEC and so on. What

level of fluency is being achieved by this massive influx of learners is still unknown. But if only a fraction of China's population is successful, this alone will be enough to make the 100 million total for world foreign-language use a gross underestimate.

And why shouldn't they be successful, in China, Japan, Brazil, Poland, Egypt and elsewhere? There is enormous motivation, given the way that English has become the dominant language of world communication. Textbooks on English these days regularly rehearse the litany of its achievements. It is the main language of the world's books, newspapers, and advertising. It is the official international language of airports and air traffic control. It is the chief maritime conferences, of diplomacy, of sport. Over two thirds of the world's scientists write in English. Three quarters of the world's mail is written in English. Eighty percent of all the information stored in the electronic retrieval systems of the world is stored in English. And, at a local level, examples of the same theme can be found everywhere. A well-known Japanese company, wishing to negotiate with its Arabic customers, arranges all its meetings in English. A Colombian doctor reports that he spends almost as much time improving his English as practicing medicine. A Copenhagen university student comments: 'Nearly everyone in Denmark speaks English; if we didn't, there wouldn't be anyone to talk to'.

Statistics of this kind are truly impressive, and could continue for several paragraphs. They make the point that it is not the number of mother-tongue speakers which makes a language important in the eyes of the world (that crown is carried by Chinese), but the extent to which a language is found useful outside its original setting. In the course of history, other languages have achieved widespread use throughout educated society. During the Middle Ages, Latin remained undisputed as the European language of learning. In the 18th century, much of this prestige passed

to French. Today, it is the turn of English. It is a development, which could be reversed only by a massive change in the economic fortunes of America, and in the overall balance of world power.

When a language, like a nation, exercises a new influence in world affairs, several things happen. People begin to study it in unprecedented detail. Research projects flourish. Scholars write grammar, dictionaries, and manuals of its style. They plan surveys of educated usage, and surveys of dialects. Courses on the teaching of the language proliferate, in a rapidly increasing number of (not always respectable) institutions. There is a general raise of consciousness, with new language courses in schools, and popular programs on radio and television. And there is rapid growth in popular books and magazines about the language, to help people keep pace with developments. The same thing happens to the English language.

Today's English Speakers. There are three kinds of English speakers: those who speak it as a first language, those for whom it is a second or additional language and those who learn it as a foreign language. The native speakers may feel the language 'belongs' to them, but it will be those who speak English as a second or foreign language who will determine its world future.

The native speakers live, for the most part, in countries in which the dominant culture is based around English. These countries, however, are experiencing increasing linguistic diversity as a result of immigration. Second language speakers have English in a repertoire of languages where each is used in different contexts. Speakers here might use a local form of English, but may also be fluent in international varieties. The third group of English speakers is the growing number of people learning English as a foreign language.

Each colonial process had different linguistic consequences. The first

type created a diaspora of native speakers of English (US, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand), with each settlement eventually establishing its own national variety of English. The second (India, West Africa, East Africa) made English an elite second language, frequently required for further education and government jobs. The linguistic consequences of the third type were complex, including the creation of new hybrid varieties of English called Creoles. Creoles have as their origin a pidgin — a reduced form of communication used between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages — which become extended in vocabulary and grammar as a result of being used as a mother tongue. Classification of Creole speakers is problematic. From a linguistic view, there is merit in regarding Creoles as distinct languages. From a socio-linguistic view, it may be better to regard Creole speakers as belonging to the English-speaking community, beoause of the emergence in several countries of a range of language varieties from standard English to fully fledged Creole.

Dividing English speakers into three groups is a time-honored approach to language use and, though not without its problems, is a useful starting point for understanding the pattern of English worldwide. These three groups have become widely known as the 'inner circle'. One of the drawbacks of this terminology is the way it locates the 'native speakers' and native-speaking countries at the center of the global use of English and, by implication, the source of models of correctness, the best teachers and English-language goods and services consumed by those in the periphery. This model, however, will not be the most useful for describing English usage in the new century. Those who speak English alongside other languages will outnumber first-language speakers and, increasingly, will decide the global future of the language.

Time Zones And Use Of English. The logic globalization has led to closer integration of working practices of dispersed teams. The same

logic has also increased the economic benefits of being located in the same time zone. Technology cannot overcome difference in time as easily as distance. A communication may be transmitted instantly to the other side of the world, but action may not be taken on it until the next working day. In the late 20th century, three major business zones have emerged, based on the time zones within which the Big Three trading blocs operate: the United States, Europe and Japan. The zones are presently based on the main financial centers: New York, London and Tokyo. The center of gravity of these business zones is expected to shift slightly in the coming decades, reflecting the changing centers of business. As China and India become more important in the global economy, the Asian zone may be expecting increase in economic importance of eastern European countries. This will place Germany to a more central time location. Each of these major zones may develop its own regional language hierarchy. The Americas, for example, might become more prominently Spanish-English bilingual. In that case, the Spanish-speaking population in the US will becomes an important economic resource. In Europe the present hierarchy, which positions English, French and German as the 'big' languages, may continue, with French gradually being squeezed as the extension of the EU favors English and German. In Asia, complex patterns of regional difference may arise, with India projecting the use of English on the western side and the extensive use of Chinese businesses promoting Chinese to the east. However, the fact that Chinese is a second language for many engaged in international trade may complicate its position as a regional lingua franca. The division of the world into three major time zones will give rise to new patterns of advantage and disadvantage for countries, depending on their geographical location, time zone, language and culture.

Although WTO and other international organizations promote international free trade, much of the growth in today's trade is emerging within

regional blocs. Some 76 regional trade agreements are listed by WTO, over half of which have been established since 1990. This rise in regional trade is not simply a consequence of the emergence of trading blocs, such as the EU; the likely cause and effect is the other way around, with economic development brought about, in part, by the globalised activities of transnational corporations stimulating the formation of regional trade. As the economies of Asian countries mature, markets in adjacent countries will look more attractive than those far away. Such adjacency may in future include cultural neighborhoods as much as geographical ones. The likely consequence of economic regionalisation, therefore, is the emergence of regional languages other than English.

Internet Communication. Many people regard the Internet as the flagship of global English. A frequently quoted statistic is that English is the medium for 80% of the information stored in the world's computers. It is certainly true that growth of computer use — and of the Internet in particular — has been spectacular in the last few years. Computers have become extensively networked and the networks linked into the global structure of the Internet. With live interaction taking place between users and the store-and-forward messaging systems of the Internet blurring distinctions between archived and ephemeral copies of texts, the whole notion of 'storage' has been given an anachronistic air. Indeed, a major reconsideration of intellectual property rights in connection with electronic texts has been provoked in part as a result of the way information and ideas now circle the world.

Using the same infrastructure as the telephone, the Internet carries English language services into nearly every country and, with growing private subscriptions, into people's homes. The system has its origins in the academic and, in particular, scientific community. English is deeply established among scientists as the international lingua franca and, from this

beginning, English appears to have extended its domain of use to become the preferred lingua franca for the many new kinds of user who have come online in the 1990s:

The electronic media that bind the world together are essentially carriers of language. To work effectively, they need a common standard. The English language is now the operating standard for global communication. (The Economist, 21 Dec. 1996, p. 37) But is it true that the Internet will remain a major driver of English? At present, the language most widely used is English, but this reflects the fact the 90% of the world's computers connected to the Internet are based in English-speaking countries, as are the computers that host the publicly accessible World Wide Web sites. In this light, it is perhaps not surprising that the majority of both traffic and Web sites are rooted in English: at present, users in other countries, working in other languages, find that if they are to communicate through cyberspace, they must do so in English.

A great deal of communication on the net is not in the public domain and therefore difficult to monitor. Electronic mail, for example, is expected to be a dominant activity, even when the Web has matured, for it supports communities much in the way that newsgroups do. List servers, sending messages out automatically, also create considerable traffic between members of self-selected groups. The software needed to manage and distribute such messages once required institution with a large machine permanently attached to the Internet. Now it is possible for an international mailing list to be managed via a home computer. This is one of the 'democratising' trends on the Internet: the breakdown of gate-keeping and the shift of control to ordinary users, in turn leading to informal, vernacular or in-group language in public places. This ambiguity and fluidity about the status of Internet communication is reflected in ongoing tension as to whether it is conceived of as a form of 'publishing' or a

'conversation'. A consensus is needed, not least for legal purposes. As court cases in different parts of the world have shown, the Internet has thrown up problematic issues regarding intellectual property rights and libel. But it is clear from research by linguists that new genres and forms of English are arising on the Internet. The system is not simply encouraging the use of English, but transforming it.

2. English in the 21st Century
第二节 21世纪的英语

导读：

英语发展到21世纪不单只是几个国家的语言了，它已经被确立为世界第一通用语。在新千年中，它的绝对优势地位不会有多大的改变。促使其地位稳固的原因是英语更广泛的应用。促使英语得到更广泛应用的因素是：世界经济全球化进程、信息时代的到来以及计算机网络技术的普及。在语言变化中，世界上有些语言会像拉丁语一样被废弃，有些语言会在竞争中发展壮大起来。可以说，英语在未来语言的变化发展中，不会处于一枝独秀的状态，而会与一些语言竞争，来保住其在世界上的主导地位。从英语语言特征来看，英语的语法结构和语音语调不会有明显的变化，而英语的词汇还会增加；同时，一些区域性很强，不具共性的词汇将会消亡。但是，区域性的英语变体仍然会继续存在并得到进一步的发展。而一种相对符合国际交际标准的英语将会成为英语通用语。各个英语变体就像这个通用语的各个方言，而这个通用语就像一把大伞，把这些共生存、共求发展的各个英语变体纳入自己的范围。

Spread Of English. The global spread of English over the last

40 years is remarkable. It is unprecedented in several ways: by the increasing number of users of the language; by its depth of penetration into societies; by its range of functions. Three factors continue to contribute to this spread of English: English usage in science, technology and commerce; the ability to incorporate vocabulary from other languages; and the acceptability of various English dialects.

Worldwide over 1.4 billion people live in countries where English has official status. One out of five of the world's population speaks English with some degree of competence. And in 2000 one in five — over one billion people — are learning English. Over 70% of the world's mail is written in English. And 90% of all information in the world's electronic retrieval systems is stored in English. By 2010, the number of people who speak English as a second or foreign language will exceed the number of native speakers. This trend will certainly affect the language.

Since growth on a language is primarily a matter of population, the most important question to ask is which populations of the world will increase most rapidly. Since English occupies an increasingly prominent place in international communication, there has been a great deal of guess about the future of the language. But not all predictions about it come true. In the mid 19th century, some people were predicting that within 100 years British and American English would be mutually unintelligible. It sounds ridiculous today; however, some predictions continue to be made, but on a broader front. There is no doubt that the future of English is closely bound up with the influence and prestige of its speakers. The role of English had developed to such an extent, unprecedented in world history, that it is difficult to see how it can be dislodged. But people must have thought that way about Latin once. The break-up of Latin into the modern Romanic languages is often referred to by prophets of linguistic doom. They pointed to the way new varieties of English are rapidly devel-

oping in different parts of the world. As varieties of English play a communicative role in the world, there is a greater interchange of words, and an enhancing of the levels of mutual comprehension. Whatever the features of regional English are, they are tiny compared with the mass of vocabulary and structure of 'world standard' English, which is within easy reach of all.

But no one wants to lose his identity in a world melting pot. In the course of the new century we will see the emergence of a more universal 'bidialectism' on the part of those who play a role in the international community. People will use one variety of the language at home, and slip into another variety when they communicate with those from different communities. So maybe in a century or so we shall all be bilingual in our own language, with our home variety of English co-existing with an English international lingua franca. And in the course of time, maybe 'bilingual' will not be too strong a word; for it is likely that the home varieties will develop along different lines from those followed by this lingua franca. There could well come the day, indeed, when the home languages of Indian, Americans, Jamaicans, and others are mutually unintelligible, but the whole community is bound together by the continuing existence of the lingua franca. Such a situation is not fantasy: there is an analogy today in China, where the several spoken Chinese dialects are mutually unintelligible, but written Chinese and colloquial standard Chinese are understood by all.

In the meantime, those who have invested a childhood, or adult time and money, in successfully acquiring the English language would do well to maintain an active interest in the language progress. The more we learn about the language has been, how it is structured, how it is used, and how it is changing, the more we will be able to judge its present course and help to plan its future. However, the fate of the language will not be

determined by anyone. What people can do is to study and analyze the factors that influence the future of English.

World In Transition. There is no imminent danger to the global popularity of the English language, but it would be foolhardy to imagine that its pre-eminent position as a world language will not be challenged in some world regions and domains of use as the economic, demographic and political shape of the world is transformed. The fact is recognized by the majority of people, who are professionally concerned with the English language worldwide. The British Council's English 2000 project in 1995 summarized the position of English:

Worldwide there are over 1,400 million people living in countries where English has official status. One out of five of the world's population speaks English to some level of competence. English is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science technology, diplomacy, sport, international competitions, pop music and advertising. The close of the 20th century is a time of global transition and a new world order is emerging. The period of most rapid change is likely to last 20 years and can be expected to be an uncomfortable and at times traumatic experience for many of the world's citizens. During this period, the conditions will be established for more settled global relations which may be stable about 2050. Hence the next 20 years or so will be a critical time for the English Language and for those who depend upon it. The patterns of usage and public attitudes to English, which develop during this period, will have long-term implications for its future in the world.

The Internet and related information technologies may upset the traditional patterns of communication upon which institutional and national cultures have been built. We have entered a period in which language and communication will play a more central role than ever before in eco-

nomic, political and cultural life — just at the moment in history that a global language has emerged. There is no doubt that the changing world affects the use of English. Therefore it is worth exploring issues of the future of English. Many of the issues will be of interest to a wide range of people, both specialists and professionals, but also members of the general public. These issues raise such questions as:

—How many people will speak English in the year 2050?

—What role will English play in their lives? Will they enjoy the rich cultural resources the English language offers or will they simply use English as a vehicular language like a tool of their trade?

—What effects will economic globalization have on the demand for English?

—How does English help the economic modernization of newly industrialized countries?

—Is the Internet the electronic 'flagship' of global English?

—Will the growth of global satellite TV, such as CNN and MTV, teach the world's youth US English?

—Will the spread of English lead to over half of the world's languages becoming extinct?

The spread of English in recent years is, by any criterion, a remarkable phenomenon. But the closer one examines the historical causes and current trends, the more it becomes apparent that the future of English will be more challenging for the position of native-speaking countries than has hitherto been supposed.

English In Transition. As the world is in transition, so the English language is itself taking new forms. As people evolve and do new things, their language will evolve too. They will find ways to describe the new things and their changed perspective will give them new ways of talking about the old things. Change is inevitable in a living language and is

responsible for much of the vitality of English. English has prospered and grown because it was able to accept and absorb change. This, of course, has always been true: English has changed substantially in the 1500 years or so of its use, reflecting patterns of contact with other languages and the changing communication needs of people. But in many parts of the world, as English is taken into the fabric of social life, it acquired a momentum and vitality of its own, developing in ways which reflect local culture and languages, while diverging increasingly from the kind English spoken in Britain or North America.

Moreover, English like all other languages is subject to that constant growth and decay which characterize all forms of life. It is a convenient figure of speech to speak of languages as living and as dead. While we cannot think of language as something that possesses life apart from the people who speak it, as we can think of plants or of animals, we can observe in speech something like the process of change that characterizes the life of living things. When a language ceases to change, we call it a dead language. Classical Latin is a dead language because it has not changed for nearly two thousand years. The change that is constantly going on in a living language can be most easily seen in the vocabulary. Old words die out, new words are added, and existing words change their meaning. Much of the vocabulary of Old English had been lost, and the development of new words to meet new conditions is one of the most familiar phenomena of the language. Change of meaning can be illustrated from any page of Shakespeare. 'Nice' in Shakespeare's day meant 'foolish'; 'rheumatism' signified a cold in the head. Changes likewise occur in the grammatical forms of a language. These may be the result of gradual phonetic modification, or they may result from the desire for uniformity commonly felt where similarity of function or use is involved.

Today English is also used for more purposes than ever before. Ev-

erywhere it is at the leading edge of technological and scientific development, new thinking in economics and management, new literature and entertainment genres. These give rise to new vocabularies, grammatical forms and ways of speaking and writing. Nowhere is the effect of this expansion of English into new domains seen more clearly than in communication on the Internet and the development of 'net English'. But the language is, in another way, at a critical moment in its global career: within a decade or so, the number of people who speak English as a second language will exceed the number of native speakers. The implications of this are likely to be far reaching: the center of authority regarding the language as a mother tongue will shift from native speakers as they become minority stakeholders in the global resource. Their literature and television may no longer provide the focal point of a global language, and their teachers no longer form the unchallenged authoritative models for learners in other parts of the world.

English is changing all the time and at an increasingly dizzy pace. At the turn of the century words were being added at the rate of about 1,000 a year. Now according to a report in The New York Times (April 3, 1989), the increase is close to 15,000 to 20,000 a year. In 1987, when Random House produced the second edition of its masterly twelve-pound unabridged dictionary, it included over 50,000 words that had not existed twenty-one years earlier and 75,000 new definitions of old words. Of its 315,000 entries, 210,000 had to be revised. That is a phenomenal amount of change in just two decades. The new entries included 'preppy', 'quark', 'flextime', 'chairperson' and the names of 800 foods that had not existed or been generally heard in 1966 — 'tofu', 'colada', 'chapati', 'sushi' and so on.

English And Other Language Rivals. There is no reason to believe that any other language will appear within the next 50 years to re-

place English as the global lingua franca. The position of English has arisen from a particular history, which no other language can, in the changed world of the 21st century, repeat. However, no single language will occupy the monopolistic position in the new century, which English has achieved by the end of the 20th century. It is more likely that a small number of world languages will form an oligopoly, each with particular spheres of influence and regional bases.

As trade, people movement and communication between neighboring countries in Asia and South America become more important than flows between such regions and Europe and North America, so we can expect languages, which serve regional communication to rise in popularity. But it is actually very difficult to foresee more precisely what will occur. Although economic activity, telecommunication traffic and air travel between Asian countries will greatly increase, there are at least three possible linguistic factors. One is that English will remain the preferred language of international communication within Asia, since the investment in English may be regarded as too great to throw away, or the social elites who have benefited from English in the past may be reluctant to let their privileged position become threatened. Or it may simply be the most common shared language. The second factor is that Chinese becomes regionally more important, beginning as a lingua franca within Greater China (for communication between the regions of Hong Kong, Beijing, Shanghai and Taiwan) and building on increased business communication between the overseas Chinese in South-east Asia. The third factor is that no single language will emerge as a dominant lingua franca in Asia and a greater number of regional languages will be learned as foreign languages. If interregional trade is greatest between adjacent countries, then there is likely to be an increased demand for neighboring languages. In this case the pattern of demand for foreign languages will look different in each country.

The position of Russian in Central and North Asia is subject to similar problems of prediction. But it does seem clear that the global fortunes of Spanish are rising quite rapidly. Indeed, the trading areas of the south are expected to merge in the first decade of the millennium. This, taken together with the expected increase in the Hispanic population in the US may ensure that the Americas emerge as a bilingual English-speaking zone.

English And Endangered Languages. One of the main linguistic issues facing the world in the 21st century is the extinction of a substantial proportion of the world's languages. The coming century will see either the death or doom of 90% of mankind's languages. Many endangered languages are in region of rapid economic growth, the Asia Pacific languages. About half the world's languages are found in the rapidly modernizing Asia Pacific region. The majority of these languages will be lost in the new century. This trend towards reduced linguistic diversity is the outcome of global demographic and economic trends: the local cultures and lifestyles, which supported small community languages, are disappearing and their speakers are usually those with least political or cultural power.

Establishment Of Economic Globalization. World economies and cultures are becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent, politically, socially, and technologically: 'complexification', 'cross-border activity' and 'process re-engineering' have been the buzzwords of the 1990s. Therefore the impact of economic globalization on patterns of communication has to be examined. The increasing globalization of the marketplace is forcing companies to pay more attention to international developments. Domestic firms are adjusting their structures and methods of operation to fit a broader and rapidly changing economic environment. They are increasing their geographic outreach because more of

their suppliers and customers are located on various continents.

Global trade is no longer a matter of bilateral arrangements between nation states, or between organizations economically rooted in nation states. Such is the complex structure of business ownership, through joint ventures and holding companies. That establishing any simple national pattern of ownership of the major enterprises is difficult. And many of the world's largest corporations can hardly even be called multinational; rather they have become transnational. It has been calculated that transnational corporations (TNCs) account for as much as two-thirds of international trade in goods, while 50 of the 100 largest economics are said to be not nation states but TNCs. The largest of the world's TNCs are involved in the energy and chemicals industries (oil, pharmaceuticals) and the communications industry (airlines, telecommunications, media). Most of them are headquartered in the Big Three trading blocs (Europe, North America and Japan). And at the present stage of global economic development, the international activities of TNCs are tending to promote English.

The rise of TNCs has supposed a new, global distribution of labor: large corporations can shift production to countries with a cheaper, less regulated workforce. If production costs in one country become too great, production can be shifted to another part of the world, perhaps with tax incentives and subsidies to start up new enterprises. Although some commentators see this as a predatory, 'slash and burn' activity on a global scale, others regard it as an important driver of economic development in third-world countries. Such shifts of production require in-flows of capital, skills and technology, and are one means by which a developing economy is helped to 'come up to speed' in a shorter timescale than the industrialized countries themselves required. This process promotes the further use of English.

With the development of global economy, complexification is growing. Here is an example providing an express explanation. In February 1996, an oil tanker ran aground while attempting to enter an oil terminal off the Welsh coast of Britain, leading to a major oil spillage and environmental disaster. As journalists tried to establish 'who was to blame', they uncovered an extraordinarily complex transnational activity: Build in Spain; owned by a Norwegian; registered in Cyprus; managed from Glasgow; chartered by the French; crewed by Russians; flying a Liberian flag; carrying an American cargo; and pouring oil on to the Welsh coast. One question raised by the tanker disaster was the extent to which key members of the crew could understand the English instructions of the local pilot. Later news reported the need to bring in a Chinese tug and the problems of interpretation, which resulted. Yet English is supposedly the basis for 'Seaspeak' — the special English by deck officers as an international maritime communication.

The above illustrates two features of economic globalization: The transnational nature of ownership and management and the increasing demand for 'flexible labor'. Complexity of ownership is a necessary, but at first sight counter-intuitive, consequence of the concentration of ownership. As TNCs become larger and their enterprises global, new ventures involve considerable risk. No single corporation can accept the risk, for example, of establishing a global satellite network. Instead, a TNC attempts to spread the risk of large, single ventures through cooperation with other large enterprises: they tend to 'hunt in packs'. Thus globalization is not, as might be expected, creating global oligopolies: a small number of large operators who display some of the features of a cartel. Later we will argue that world languages may be developing on similar lines: rather than English acquiring a 'monopoly' position as a world lingua franca, there may emerge an 'oligopoly' consisting of a group of major languages,

each with particular spheres of influence.

Globalization has a significant effect on labor practices. The new global distribution of labor has led to a reduction of unskilled jobs in richer countries. But there has also been greater pressure, as we have seen, for more flexible labor. This derives from the speed of corporate and technological change — workers must turn their hands quickly to a wider variety of activities and retrain regularly. This trend arising in all economic sectors — has led to a decreasing reliance on key communicators and gatekeepers (in the case of maritime workers, the radio officer) who possess specialist language skills. Trends suggest there is a growing need for people in various jobs to communicate with each other directly, yet in the transnational activities of world trade, there is less likelihood that they share the same language. As a result, more people in a wider variety of jobs require a grater competence in English. Traditional international trade is associated with physical movement of goods; interactions with all foreign countries conducted in English; key intermediaries (negotiators, interpreters) with English language skills; manufacture/business conducted in local language; location of workers based on labor costs; communications technology used to control and monitor remote operations. In a globalized model, English is associated with services and knowledge-intensive industries. Working is dispersed — employees do not need to be in physical proximity. All (or most) team members need English language skills. Local interactions may not be in English. Location of workers is sensitive to available skill/knowledge and communications infrastructure. Communications technology is used to integrate work of dispersed teams. These illustrate changes in patterns of communications now arising in many industries.

Globalization is probably by most significant socio-economic process affecting the world in the late 20th century. Its effects are felt not only in

the economy, but also in politics and culture. It would be wrong, however, to think of globalization as primarily a 'neo-colonial' process — whereby the capital and social values of rich countries are imposed upon poorer ones. Discussions of globalization usually emphasis the importance of local contexts, for globalization creates patterns of interdependence and Interconnection, where cultures and economies influence each other rapidly, but in complex and often unpredictable ways. Rather than a process which leads to uniformity and homogeneity, globalization seems to create new, hybrid forms of culture, language and political organization: the results of global influences meeting local traditions, values and social contexts.

Economic Development Encourages English. Why discuss economics with the English language? Because the English language is closely associated with this economic modernization and industrial development. Information is sent and received at an increasing speed. The industries, and corporations, both national and international, for technological progress require an understanding of the language of that technology — English. Two factors drive this global marketplace. First, many manufactured products have one or more foreign components. Ford cars and IBM computers are just two examples of this. Second, more than half of all imports and exports, which governments label foreign trade, are transacted between domestic companies and their foreign affiliates.

Although an incoming company may not be headquartered in an English-speaking country, it will typically establish a joint venture with a local concern. Joint ventures (e.g. Sino-Swiss and German) tend to adopt English as their lingua franca, which promotes a local need for training in English.

Establishment of joint ventures requires legal documents and memoranda of understanding. International legal agreements are written in En-

glish because there exists international consensus about the meaning of terms, obligations and rights. This activity may create a demand for specialist English language training for lawyers — the case in China where new courses are being established.

A newly established company will be in most cases involved in international trade — importing raw materials and exporting finished goods. This will create a need for back – office workers, sales and marketing staff with skills in English.

Technology transfer is closely associated with English, largely because most transfer is sourced by a TNC who either is English speaking or who uses English for external trade. Technology transfer is not restricted to the enterprise itself, but may extend to associated infrastructure expansion such as airports, railways and telecommunications. In central China, engineers in local steel factories learn English so they can install and maintain plant bought from Germany and Italy. The predominance of English in technology transfer reflects the role of TNCs more than the fact that much leading-edge technology derives from the US. However, technology transfer to developing economies tends not to be at a leading edge: keeping new technology in Europe, North America and Japan helps the Big Three to maintain a competitive edge despite high costs of labor.

Establishing joint ventures creates incoming demands from international visitors who require supporting services, such as hotels and tourist facilities. The secondary enterprises also require training in English for these visitors.

People in the new enterprises may be better paid and jobs may be more attractive than those in the public sector of a developing economy. English qualifications may become an entry necessity, or have perceived value in access to jobs even if the job itself does not require English.

***Role Of English-Medium Education*.** In post-colonial coun-

tries, such as India and Malaysia, English-medium education provides one of the mechanisms of distributing social and economic power. English-medium education in such countries is often seen by both parents and children as a means to economic success, but it has been argued that where teachers are not fully proficient in the English language and where there is little use of English in the community the aspirant language learner will be condemned to a second-rate education. English-medium education is thus accused of undermining attempts to improve educational provision and encouraging educational mediocrity amongst aspirant, non-elite groups.

Hong Kong provides an example of the dilemma facing many parents. Hong Kong's former status as a British colony established English as the language of the judicial and legislative executive. Yet the 1991 census results show that while 29.4% of the population spoke English, only 2.2% did so as their usual language; 88.7% spoke Cantonese and another 10.3% spoke other Chinese dialects. Despite this, English became the official medium of instruction in Hong Kong schools, meaning most of the population had to study from a young age through a second or foreign language. In practice, the language of the classroom became 'mixed code' — a mixture of Cantonese and English.

It is widely believed in Hong Kong that this situation helped the development of an elite group while giving a poorer educational experience to a majority. Mixed code meant many children failed to improve their proficiency in English yet compromised their learning or other subjects. Long before the handover of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China, there was growing support for the idea of using Chinese as a medium of instruction, at least at primary level. A government report explained the dilemma: It is easier for students learn through their mother tongue and to continue their secondary education without a switch to a second language.

However, if the aim of the education system is to produce students with a high level of English language proficiency, then English medium instruction can achieve that aim. Chinese medium instruction will not.

English And Individual Progress. In many parts of the world, English is regarded as a language of power, success and prestige: The global language can be seen to open doors, which fuels a 'demand' for English. This demand reflects contemporary power balances and the hope that mastery of English will lead to the prosperity and glamorous hedonism that the privileged in this world have access to and that is projected in Hollywood films, MTV videos, and ads for transnational corporations.

If English brings wealth, is it also the case that those who have no access to English are rendered poor? In many countries English has become implicated in social and economic ladders, which structure inequality. Whereas in the past poverty had been largely a matter of geography, class, gender and ethnicity, now it may also depend on access to the lingua franca of a global elite. Proficiency in English is not merely an instrumental affair — it is too often used as a ladder. The lack of an examination certificate, or signs, even trivial, that a writer or speaker is not a native or fluent speaker may be sufficient to bar access to certain jobs. It also seems to be used as a screening approach for scholars submitting papers to international journals, which are increasingly published in English.

Internet Impact On The Global Use Of English. The Internet epitomizes the information society, allowing the transfer of services, expertise and intellectual capital across the world cheaply, rapidly and apparently without pollution or environmental damage. Many people regarded the Internet as the flagship of global English. At present 90% of Internet hosts are based in English-speaking countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the majority of traffic and the majority of Web sites

are based in English and that those users based in other countries and who normally work in other languages, find they have to communicate with others in the cyberspace community through the medium of English. Many studies, however, have shown how well the Internet supports minority. Although early studies of 'nationally oriented' Internet newsgroups (containing discussions of national or regional culture and language) seemed to indicate a preference for using English, others which have become more recently active extensively use the national language. It is not yet clear why some groups use English less than others, but an overall trend away from the hegemony of English in such groups is visible and often surfaces as an explicit topic of discussion. One reason may be that the Internet user base is developing rapidly in Asia and non-English-speaking countries. And software technology such as browser and HTML standard (which govern the Hyper Text Markup Language in which Web pages are written), now also supports multilingual browsing. The quality of Internet materials in languages other than English is set to expand dramatically in the next decade. English will remain pre-eminent for some time, but it will eventually become one language amongst many. It is therefore misleading to suggest English is somehow the native language of the Internet. It will be used in cyberspace in the same way as it is deployed elsewhere: in international forums, for the dissemination of scientific and technical knowledge, in advertising, for the promotion of consumer goods and for after-sales services. In the meantime, local communication on the Internet is expected to grow significantly. This, and the increasing use of email for social and family communication, will encourage the use of a wider variety of languages. English is said to have accounted for 80% of computer-based communication in the 1990s. That proportion is expected to fall dramatically recently.

***Languages On The Web*.** As computer spread, it is predicted

that English content on the Internet may fall to 40 % of the total material. The English Company (UK) Ltd has devised a corpus linguistic method for estimating the proportion of languages on the World Wide Web, which suggests the English content is now around 8 billion words. The technique will be refined and used to monitor the Web's changing linguistic composition. Languages other than English are now being used on the Internet and this trend is likely to be of growing importance. In future browser software will transmit 'language preference' information when contacting a remote site. If a page is available in that language it will be automatically retrieved in preference to one in English. This means, for example, that the Web will appear to be in Spanish to a Spanish speaker and in French to a French speaker, provided the hosts contacted maintain pages in these languages. Software support for automatic language translation is also improving. There is a widespread expectation that such aids will become common. Some of these technologies are, in fact, already available. In future it may not be necessary for providers to create pages in different languages. The Internet, or the user's own computer, may provide an 'invisible' translation service. Operated by the Internet, this would work when a page is retrieved by user's computer, automatically submitted to another Internet site (possibly in a different part of the world) and then translated by a powerful mainframe computer, before being passed in the required language to the user who requested the page. Translation software for major languages is already available on PCs and is now used in ordinary communication in the Internet. Such language technologies, widely available, any significantly reduce the need for learning English for the casual Internet user, although many linguists remain skeptical whether they provide a reliable means of communication between speakers of different languages.

***Role Of English In The* 21*st Century*.** The world is in vari-

ous stages of social, economic, and demographic transition. Economically and politically, the world has changed more rapidly in the past few years than at any time since 1945. The emerging global economy is both competitive and interdependent. It reflects the availability of modern communications and production technologies in most parts of the world. So, do we need to be concerned about the future of the English language in the 21st century? According to The Economist (1996), English continues to be the world standard language, and there is no major threat to the language or to its global popularity. But, changes are coming.

***Changes In The* 21*st Century*.** The world is in transition, and the English language will take new forms. The language and how it is used will change, reflecting patterns of contact with other languages and the changing communication needs of people. English is divesting itself of its political and cultural connotations as more people realize that English is not the property of only a few countries. Instead, it is a vehicle that is used globally and will lead to more opportunities. It belongs to whoever uses it for whatever purpose or need.

One question that arises about the future role of the English is whether a single world-standard English will develop. This could result in a supranational variety that all people would have to learn.

The widespread use of English as a language of wider communication will continue to exert pressure toward global uniformity. This could result in declining standards, language changes, and the loss of geolinguistic diversity.

On the other hand, because English is the vehicle for international communication and because it forms the basis for constructing cultural identities, many local varieties could instead develop. This trend may lead to fragmentation of the language and threaten the role of English as a lingua franca. However, there have always been major differences be-

tween varieties of English.

There is no reason to believe that any one other language will appear within the next 50 years to replace English. However, it is possible that English will not keep its monopoly in the 21st century. Rather, a small number of languages may form an oligopoly — each with a special area of influence. For example, Spanish is rising because of expanding trade and the increase of the Latino population in the United States. This could create a bilingual English-Spanish region.

A language shift, in which individuals change their linguistic allegiances, is another possibility. These shifts are slow and difficult to predict. But within the next 50 years, substantial language shifts could occur as economic development affects more countries.

Because of these shifts in allegiance, more languages may disappear. Those remaining will rapidly get more native speakers. This included English.

Internet migration and urbanization may restructure areas, thereby creating communities where English becomes the language of interethnic communication — a neutral language. Universities, using English as the medium of instruction, will expand and rapidly create a generation of middle-class professionals. Economic development will only increase the middle class, a group that is more likely to learn and use English in jobs.

While languages such as English, German, and French have been international languages because of their governments' political powers, this is less likely to be the case in the 21st century where economics and demographics will have more influence on languages. English has been an international language for only 50 years. If the pattern follows the previous language trends, we still have about 100 years before a new language dominates the world. However, this does not mean that English is replacing or will replace other languages as many fear. Instead it may supple-

ment or co-exist with languages to communicate across linguistic boundaries. It may become one tool that opens windows to the world, unlocks doors to opportunities and expands our minds to new ideas.

English, like many languages, used a phonetic alphabet and fairly basic syntax. But most importantly, it has a large and extensive vocabulary, of which about 80% is foreign. Therefore, it has cognates from virtually every language in Europe and has borrowed and continues to borrow words from Spanish and French, Hebrew and Arabic, Hind-Urdu and Bengali, Malay and Chinese, as well as languages characteristic makes it unique in history. Finally, no English language central authority guards the purity of the language, therefore, many varieties develop: American, British, Canadian, Indian, and Australian, to name a few. There is no standard pronunciation. But with this diversity is a unity of grammar and one set of core vocabulary. Thus each country that speaks the language can inject aspects of its own culture into the usage and vocabulary. However, the future is unpredictable. As David Crystal (1997) commented, there has never a language so widely spread or spoken by so many people as English. So, there are no precedents to help us predict what happens to a language when it achieves genuine world status.

附　录

Appendix A
The Indo-European Family
附录一　印欧语系的语言分支

I. Hittite

II. Indic:

Sanskrit, Pali, Hindi, Bengali, Prakrits, Urdu, Romany, Hindustani

III. Iranian: Persian, Afghan

IV. Baltic:

Latvian, Lithuanian, Old Prussian

V. Slavic:

1. East Slavic: Russian, Byelorussian, Ukrainian

2. West Slavic: Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian

3. South Slavic: Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian

VI. Albanian

VII. Armenian

VIII. Germanic:

1. East Germanic: Gothic, Vandalic, Burgundian

2. North Germanic: Swedish, Icelandic, Danish, Norwegian, Faeriese

3. West Germanic:

(1) High German: Old and Middle German, German, Swiss German, Yiddish

(2) Low German: Old Saxon, Plattdeutsch, Flemish, Dutch, Old

English, Middle English, English, Old Frisian, Frisian

IX. Celtic:

1. Brythonic: Breton, Cornish, Welsh

2. Continental: Gaulish

3. Gaelic: Old Irish, Middle Irish, Irish, Manx, Scots Gaelic

X. Italic:

Latin, Old French, French, Italian, . Old Spanish, Spanish, Old Portuguese, Portuguese, Old Provencal, Provencal, Catalan, Galician, RomanianXI. Hellenic:

Greek, Aeolic, Doric, Ionian Koine

XII. Tocharian

The Into-European family of languages, of which English is a member, is descended from a prehistoric language, Proto-Indo-European, spoken in a region that has not yet been identified, possibly in the 5th millennium B.C. The chart shows the principal languages of the family and loosely suggests their geographic distribution.

Appendix B
Some Events in English Language History
附录二 英语语言史大事记

449	Invasion by Angles, Saxons, and Jutes
450 – 480	Earlier runic inscriptions in Old English
597	Augustine brings Christianity to Kent
680	Approximate earlier date for the composition of Beowulf
700	Approximate dating of earlier Old English manuscripts
735	Death of the Venerable Bede

787	Viking raids begin
871	Alfred becomes King of Wessex
886	Danelaw boundaries settled
950 – 1000	Approximate dates of the main Old English poetry collections
1016 – 1042	Cnut and his sons reign
1066	Norman Conquest
1150 – 1200	Earlier texts in Middle English
1171	Henry II's invasion of Ireland
1204	France takes over Normandy
1250 – 1300	Edward I's campaigns against the Welsh and Scots
1362	English first used at the opening of Parliament
1375 – 1400	Chaucer's main works written
1384	Wyclif's translation of the Bible
1400 – 1450	The Great Vowel Shift
1400 – 1600	Main period of older Scots literature
1476	Introduction of printing
1475 – 1650	Renaissance loan words into English
1549	Book of Common Prayer written
1560 – 1620	English plantation settlements in Ireland
1584	Roanoke settlement in America
1590 – 1616	Shakespeare's main works written
1600	East India Company established trading posts in India
1603	Act of Union of the crowns of England and Scotland
1604	Publication of Robert Cawdrey's A Tale Alphabeticall
1607	First English settlement in America
1609	First English settlement in the Caribbean
1611	Authorized Version of the Bible
1619	Arrival of first African slaves in North America

1620	Arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers in America
1623	First Folio of Shakespeare's plays published
1627	British established in Barbados
1655	British acquire Jamaica from Spain
1707	Union of the Parliaments of England and Scotland
1712	Jonathan Swift's proposal for an English Academy
1713	British control in eastern Canada recognized
1721	Publication of Nathaniel Bailey's Universal Etymological English dictionary
1755	Publication of Samuel Johnson's Dictionary of the English Language
1762	Publication of Robert Lowth's Short Introduction to English Grammar
1765 – 1947	British Ray in India
1776	American independence declared
1780 – 1800	First wave of emigration to Canada from the USA
1783	Loss of American colonies of Britain
1788	Establishment of first penal colony in Australia
1791	Establishment of Upper and Lower Canada
1794	Publication of Lindley Murray's English Grammar
1800 – 1910	Main period of European emigration to the USA
1802	Ceylon and Trinidad ceded to Britain
1803	Act of Union between Britain and Ireland
1806	British control established in South Africa
1807	Sierra Leone made colony
1814	Tobago, Mauritius, St Lucia and Malta ceded to Britain
1816	Colony of Bathurst (Gambia) established
1819	British established Singapore
1828	Publication of Noah Webster's American Dictionary of the

	English Language
1840	Official colony established in New Zealand
1842	Hong Kong ceded to Britain
1861	Lagos (Nigeria) established as colony
1865 – 1900	Movement of blacks to the north of the USA after the American Civil War
1867	Independence of Canada
1874	Cold Coast (Ghana) established as colony
1884 – 1928	Publication of the Oxford English Dictionary
1888 – 1894	British protectorates established in Kenya, Zanzibar, Uganda
1901	Independence of Australia
1907	Independence of New Zealand
1910	Union of South Africa established
1919	Tanganyika ceded to Britain
1922	Partition of Northern Ireland and Eire
1925	Afrikaans given official status in South Africa
1931	British Commonwealth recognized
1947	Independence of India
1948	Independence of Ceylon (Sri Lanka)
1957	Independence of Ghana
1957 – 1963	Independence of Malaysia
1960	Independence of Nigeria
1940 – 1975	Main period of immigration to Britain from Europe, Caribbean and Asia
1961	Independence of Sierra Leone and Cyprus
1962	Independence of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda
1963	Independence of Kenya
1964	Independence of Tanzania, Malawi, Malta, Zambia

1965	Independence of The Gambia, Singapore
1966	Independence of Guyana, Botswana, Lesotho, Barbados
1967	Independence of Mauritius, Swaziland, Nauru
1970 – 1984	Independence of possessions in Caribbean and Pacific
1972	Independence of Bangladesh
1975	Independence of Papua New Guinea
1976	*Voyager* spacecraft leaves with English message
1997	Handover of Hong Kong to China

Appendix C
Versions of Matthew 6,24 – 34
附录三　各时期《马太福音》6,24 – 34 的文本

Comparison of a single text made in different centuries in chronological order can tell us much. The Bible has been the literary document par excellence in every age of English literature, and its successive versions both reflected and influenced literary taste and the taste of the language. Literary taste is involved in changes of style; they are the outcome of a choice the author could make amongst several available ways of saying something. The state of the language, on the other hand, dictated which ways were available. Furthermore, such comparison can help us to discover or demonstrate in concrete terms something of the changes that took place. For the purpose, Matthew 6,24 – 34 in different versions in different historical periods is selected in the following for our comparison.

1. John Wiclif (or a follower), about 1390

No man may serue to two lordis, forsothe ethir he shal haat the toon, and loue the tother; other he shal susteyn the toon, and dispise the

tothir. ȝe mown nat serue to God and richessis. Therefore Y say to ȝou, that ȝe ben nat besie to ȝoure lijf, what ȝe shulen ete; other to ȝoure body, with what ȝe shuln be clothis. Ther ȝoure lijif is nat more than mete, and the body more than clothid? Beholde ȝe the fleeȝinge foulis of the eir, for thei sown nat, ne repyn, neither garden in to bernys; and ȝoure fadir of heuen fedith tem. Wher ȝe ben nat more worthi than thei? Sothely who of ȝou thenkinge may putte to his stature oo cubite? And of clothing what ben ȝe besye? Beholde ȝe the lilies of the feelde, how thei waxen. Thei traueilen nat, nether spynnen; Trewly I say to ȝou, for whi neither Salamon in al his glorie was keuerid as oon of thes. For ȝif God clothith thus the heye of the feeld, that to day is, and to morwe is sente in to the foirneyse, how·moche more ȝou of litil feith? Therefore nyl ȝe be bisie, sayinge, What shulen we ete? Or, What shulen we drynke? Or, With what thing shulen we be keuered? Forsothe heithen men sechen alle these thingis; trewly ? oue fadir wote that ȝe han need to alle these thingis. Therefore seke ȝee first the kyngdam of God and his riȝtwisnesse, and alle these thingis shulen be cast to ȝou. Therefore nyle ȝe be besie in to the morwe, for the morew day shal be besie to it self; sothely it sufficith to the day his malice.

2. William Tyndale, 1525

No man can serve two masters. For other he shall hate the one, and love the other: or else he shall lene to the one, and despise the other. Ye can nott serve God and mammon. Therefore I saye vnto you, be not carefull for youre lyfe, what ye shall eate, or what ye shall dryncke, nor yet for youre boddy, what rayment ye shall weare. Ya not the lyfe, morre worth then meate? And the boddy more off value then ratment? Beholde the foules of the aire: for they sowe not, neder reepe, nor yet cary into the barnes, and yett youre hevenly fatheer fedeth them. Are ye not better

then they? Whiche oof you (though he toke thought therefore) coulde put one cubit vnto his stature? And why care ye then for rayment? Beholde the lyfes off the felde, howe they growe. They labour not nether spynn. And yet for all that I saie vnto you that even Solomon in all his royalte, was nott arayed lyke vnto one of these. Wherfore yf God so clothe the grasse, which ys to daye in the feide and to morrowe shalbe cast into the fournace: shall he not moche more do the same vnto you, o ye off lytle fayth? Theerfore take no thought saynge: what shall we eate, or what shall we dryncke, or wherewith shall we be clothed (After all these thynges sseke the gentyls) for youre hevenly father knoweth that ye have neade off all these thynges. But rather seke ye fyrst the kyngdom off heven, and the rightewesnes ther of, and all these thynges shalbe ministred vnto you. Care not therfore for the days foloynge. For the daye foloynge shall care ffor yt sylfe. Eache dayes trouble ys sufficient for the same silfe day.

3. Authorized (King James) Version, 1611

No man can serue two masters: for either he will hate the one and loue the other, or else hee will holde to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serue God and Mammon. Therfore I say vnto you. Take no thought for your life, what yee shall eate, or what ye shall drinke, nor yet for your body then raiment? Behold the foules of the aire: for they sow not, neither do they reape, nor gather into barnes, yet your heauenly father feedeth them. Are yee not musch better then they? Which of you by taking thought, can adde one cubite vnto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, How they grow: they toile not neither doe they spinne, And yet I say vnto you, that euen Solomon in all his glory, was not arayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grasse of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the euen: shall he not much more clothe you, O yee of little

faith? therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eate? or, what shall we drinke? or whereithall shall wee be clothed? (For after all these things doe the Gentiles seeke:) for your heauenly father knoweth that ye haue neede of all these things. But seeke ye first the kingdome of God, and his righteousnesse, and all these things shalbe added vnto you. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of it selfe: sufficient vnto the day is the euill thereof.

4. John Wesley, 1755

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will cleave to the one and neglect the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. Therefore I say unto you. Take not thought for your life, what ye shall eat, nor for the body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the boddy than raiment? Behold the birds of the air: they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavently Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they? And which of you by taking thought can add to his age the smallest measure? and why take ye thought for raiment? consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: and yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Now: if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the still, will he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take not thought, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink or what shall we wear? (For afteer all these things to the teathens seek) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye need all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added to you. Take not therefore thought for the day is the evil thereof.

5. Revised Version, 1881

No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serveer God and mammon. Therefore I say unto you, Be not anxious for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall shall drink; nor yet your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than the food, and the body than the raiment? Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barms; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are not ye of much more value then they? And which of you by being anxious can add one cubit unto his stature? And why are ye anxious concerning raiment? Conside the lilies of the field, now they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin: yet I say unto you, that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. But id God doth so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Where — withal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seel: for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first his kingdom, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. Be not therefore anxious for the morrow: for the morrow will be anxious for itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

6. Holy Bible, 1995

No one can serve two masters; for a slave will either hate the one and love the other, or be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot server God and wealth. Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat or what you will drink, or about your body, what you will wear. Is not life more than food, and the body more than

clothing? Look at the birds of the air; they neither sow nor reap nor gather into barns, and yet your heavenly Fahter feeds them. Are you not of more value than they? And can any of you by worrying add a single hour to your span of life? And why do you worry about clothing? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they neither toil nor spin, yet I tell you, even Solomon in all his glory was not clothed like one of these. But if God so clothes the grass of the field, which is alive today and tomorrow is thrown into the oven, will he not much more clothe you — you of little faith? Therefore do not worry, saying, 'What will we eat?' or 'What will we drink?' or 'What will we wear?' For it is the Gentiles who strive for all these things; and indeed your heavenly Father knows that you need all these things. But strive first for the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well. So do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will bring worries of its own. Today's trouble is enough for today.

7. Chinese Version（马太福音，第六章，第二十四至三十四小节）

一个人不能事奉两个主；不是恶这个、爱那个，就是重这个、轻那个。你们不能又事奉上帝，又事奉玛门。所以我告诉你们，不要为生命忧虑吃什么，喝什么；为身体忧虑穿什么。生命不胜於饮食吗？身体不胜於衣裳吗？你们看天上的飞鸟，也不种，也不收，也不积蓄在仓里，你们的天父尚且养活它们。你们不比飞鸟贵重得多吗？你们哪一个能用思虑使寿数多加一刻呢？何必为衣裳忧虑呢？你想野地里的百合花怎么长起来；它也不劳苦，也不纺线。然而我告诉你们，就是所罗门极荣华的时候，他所穿戴的，还不如这花一朵呢！你们这小信的人哪！野地里的草今天还在，明天就丢在炉里，上帝还给它这样的妆饰，何况你们呢？所以，不要忧虑说，吃什么？喝什么？穿什么？这都是外邦人所求的。你们需用的这一切东西，你们的天父是知道的。你们

要先求他的国和义，这些东西都要给你们了。所以不要为明天忧虑，因为明天自有明天的忧虑；一天的难处一天当就够了。

Appendix D
The Origins of American State Names
附录四　美国各州州名的词源和词义

Alabama (from Choctaw): I hope the thicket, i.e. one who clears land.
Alaska (from Eskimo): great land
Arizona (from Papago): place of the small spring
Arkansas (from Sioux): land of the south wind people
California (from Spanish): earthly paradise
Colorado (from Spanish): red (color of the earth)
Connecticut (from Mohican): at the long tidal river
Delaware, named after the English governor Lord de la Warr
Florida (from Spanish): land of flowers
Georgia, named after King George II
Hawaii (from Hawaiian): homeland
Idaho (from Shoshone): light on the mountains
Illinois (from French): from Algonquian 'warriors'
Indiana (from English); land of Indians
Iowa (from Dakota): the sleepy one
Kansas (from Sioux): land of the south wind people
Kentucky (from Iroquois): meadow land
Louisiana, named after King Louis XIV of France
Maine, named after a French province
Maryland, named after Henrietta Maria, Charles I's queen
Massachusetts (from Algonquian): place of the big hill

Michigan (from Chippewa): big water
Minnesota (from Dakota Sioux) sky-colored water
Mississippi (from Chippewa): big river
Missouri (probably French from Algonquian): muddy water
Montana (from Spanish): mountainous
Nebraska (from Omaha): river in the flatness
Nevada (from Spanish): snowy
New Hampshire, named after Hampshire, England
New Jersey, named after Jersey (Channel Islanda)
New Mexico, named after Mexico
New York, named after the Duke of York
North Carolina, named after King Charles II
North Dakota (from Sioux): friend
Ohio (from Iroquois): beautiful water
Oklahoma (from Choctaw): red people
Oregon (possibly from Algonquian): beautiful water or beaver place
Pennsylvania, named after Quaker William Penn + Latin for 'woodland'
Rhode Island (from Dutch): red clay island
South Carolina, named after King Charles II
South Dakota (from Sioux): friend
Tennessee, name of a Cherokee settlement – unknown origin
Texas (from Spanish): allies
Utah (possibly from Navaho): upper land or land of the Ute
Vermont (from French): green mountain
Virginia, named after Queen Elizabeth I
Washington, named after George Washington
West Virginia, derived from Virginia
Wisconsin (probably from Algonquian): grassy place or beaver place
Wyoming (from Algonquian): place of the big flats

Appendix E

Native Speakers of English (1997)(* indicates territories in which English is used as an L1, but where there is greater L2 use or significant use of another language)

附录五　英语为本族语的人数(1997年)(星号表示英语作为第二语言的人数或使用其他语言的人数超过英语作为第一语言的人数的地区)

Antigua and Barbuda	61,000	Papua New Guinea *	120,000
Australia	15,316,000	Philippines *	15,000
Bahamas	250,000	Puerto Rico *	110,000
Barbados	265,000	Sierra Leone *	450,000
Belize *	135,000	St Kitts and Nevis	39,000
Bermuda	60,000	St Lucia	29,000
Brunei *	10,000	St Vincent and Grenadines	111,000
Canada	19,700,000	Singapore *	300,000
Cayman Is	29,000	South Africa *	3,600,000
Gibraltar *	25,000	Sri Lanka *	10,000
Grenada	101,000	Suriname	258,000
Guam *	56,000	Trinidad and Tobago	1,200,000
Guyana	700,000	UK (Wales *)	56,990,000
Hong Kong *	125,000	UK Islands (Channel *)	217,000
India *	320,000	US	226,710,000
Irish Republic	3,334,000	Virgin Is (British)	17,000
Jamaica	2,400,000	Virgin Is (US)	79,000
Liberia *	60,000	Zambia *	50,000
Malaysia *	375,000	Zimbabwe *	250,000
Montserrat	11,000	New Zealand	3,396,000

Namibia *	13,000

Appendix F

Second-language Speakers of English(1997)

附录六　英语为第二语言的人数(1997 年)(星号表示英语为第一语言的人数多于英语为第二语言的人数的地区)

Australia *	2,084,000	Nepal	5,927,000
Bahamas *	25,000	New Zealand *	150,000
Bangladesh	3,100,000	Nigeria	43,000,000
Belize *	30,000	Northern Marianas	50,000
Bhutan	60,000	Pakistan	16,000,000
Botswana	620,000	Palau	16,300,000
Brunei	140,000	Papua New Guinea	28,000,000
Cameroon	6,600,000	Philippines	36,400,000
Canada *	6,000,000	Puerto Rico	1,746,000
Cook Is	2,000	Rwanda	24,000
Dominica	12,000	St Lucia *	22,000
Fiji	160,000	Samoa (America)	56,000
Gambia	33,000	Samoa (Western)	86,000
Ghana	1,153,000	Seychelles	11,000
Guam	92,000	Sierra Leone	3,830,000
Guyana *	30,000	Singapore	1,046,000
Hong Kong	1,860,000	Solomon Is	135,000
India	37,000,000	South Africa	10,000,000
Irish Republic *	190,000	Sri Lanka	1,850,000

Jamaica *	50,000	Surinam	150,000
Kenya	2,576,000	Swaziland	40,000
Kiribati	20,000	Tanzania	3,000,000
Lesotho	488,000	Tonga	30,000
Liberia	2,000,000	Tuvalu	600,000
Malawi	517,000	Uganda	2,000,000
Malaysia	5,984,000	UK *	1,100,000
Malta	86,000	US *	30,000,000
Marshall Is	28,000	US Virgin Is *	10,000
Mauritius	167,000	Vanuatu	160,000
Micronesia	15,000	Zambia	1,000,000
Namibia	300,000	Zimbabwe	3,300,000
Nauru	9,400,000		

Appendix G

Major World Languages in Millions of First-language Speakers (1996)

附录七 世界主要语言及第一语言人数(1996 年)(以百万为单位)

1. Chinese	1,113
2. English	372
3. Hindi/Urdu	316
4. Spanish	304
5. Arabic	201
6. Portuguese	165

7. Russian	155
8. Bengali	125
9. Japanese	123
10. German	102
11. French	70
12. Italian	57
13. Malay	47

Appendix H

The Proportion of the World's Books Annually Published in Each Language in the Early 1990s.

附录八　20世纪90年代初世界图书出版所用语言的百分比

English	28%
Chinese	13.3%
German	11.8%
French	7.7%
Spanish	6.7%
Japanese	5.1%
Russian	4.7%
Portuguese	4.5%
Korean	4.4%
Italian	4.0%
Dutch	2.4%
Swedish	1.6%

Other 5.8%

Appendix I
Broad Principles of Language Change
附录九　语言变化的基本原则

Some kinds of change occur quickly, others slowly.

Fashions in slang usage among native speakers, or the borrowing of words into another language, can develop in months, not years. But the shift, which occurs when a community or family abandons one language and begins to use another as a first language, is usually intergenerational. Language shift often needs three generations to take full effect, which means that there may be initial signs now of long-term changes, which might take the greater part of another 100 years to fully complete.

Individuals act as agents of change as do governments and institutions.

Successful learning of English is known to be closely associated with personal ambition and attributes such as personality type. But language change may also be imposed from outside or it may result from a rational response to a change in circumstances. A government policy decision, for example, might change the status of English as the first foreign language taught in schools, or may encourage English a medium of university education. Or market liberalization might result in the establishment of joint-venture companies, paying high salaries but requiring English-language skills in their workforce.

Innovation in language tends to diffuse through social networks.

It has often been observed that people who interact together on a reg-

ular basis, who had common loyalties and identity and who like each other, tend to use language in similar ways. Any change in the patterns of communication or in the structure of social relationship in such networks is likely to lead to a change in language use. The creation of new forms of social network or new patterns of social affiliation can also be expected to alter the way that speech communities are created and maintained. New communications technology, such as the Internet for example, may be encouraging the formation of new kinds of social affiliation and new 'discourse communities'.

Languages change does not move across geographical territories in a linear fashion.

Linguistic innovations, such as new pronunciations, tend to jump from one urban area to another, across rural areas and across national borders. In this respect they are similar to other changes brought about by social contact through urban settings-such as fashions in clothing, or the adoption of some new kind of consumer hardware. The growth of large cities in Asia will lead to many kinds of social change, including new patterns of language use.

Yong people are important leaders of change.

There has long been recognized a so-called 'critical period' in early life when children seem able to learn languages easily. But adolescence is perhaps an even more important stage, where young people make the transition to a social life, when they acquire new social networks and identities and feel the requirement for appropriate language styles. They may take aspects of these identities through to adulthood; others may be transitional teenage phenomena. An understanding of which languages the next generation of teenagers will be speaking and learning is an important

step in identifying future trends.

Language change may follow change in material circumstances.

Language is often linked to particular social and cultural practices. Remaking schemes, shifts in employment and increased wealth may all contribute to rapid linguistic change. This particularly contributes to 'languages loss'-such as the disuse of Gaelic in northeastern Scottish fishing communities, or of Aboriginal languages in Australia, in favor of English.

Social and geographical mobility cause language change.

People moving, whether as migrant labor to another country, or even within the same country (especially from rural areas to urban ones), take their language with them, but also learn the language used in the new home area. The more mobile a society, the more open it will be to change.

Languages in contact with each other cause change.

Language contact has long been recognized as a major engine of change; a historical example is that of Danish and English, which led to a major shift in the vocabulary and grammar of English. The increasing use of English in many parts of the world affects both local languages and English and is giving rise to new hybrid language varieties.

Changes often occur first in informal and casual language.

Since the majority of such language is spoken, change is rarely documented in the early stages. For similar reasons, language change occurs quickest among first-languages and second-language users, rather than among speakers of English as a foreign language.

New technology gives rise to language change.

Technological innovation may give rise to new modes of communication. The style of written text widely used in electronic mail, for example, seems to share characteristics of spoken language. Technology may also create new patterns of communication, perhaps by providing cheap international telephone links, or it may create new words needed to describe new objects and social practices which arise around their use.

The dynamics of L1, L2 and EFL change are very different.

Change in the number of people, speaking English as a first language, cannot happen rapidly: change in speaker numbers will depend mainly on demographic shifts, but populations in the English-speaking countries are fairly stable. The number of people using English as a second language could change more substantially over a generation or two. The EFL community is potentially the most volatile: major shifts in the number of people learning English around the world could occur quickly within a decade-as a result of changing public interest.

(It will be clear that the key 'driver' of linguistic change is both social and material in nature. Economic developments, technological innovations, new social networks or demographic shifts are all likely to give rise to language change. We can also see that some kinds of change extend over longer periods of time than others: language shift may take 50 – 100 years, while a significant change in the number of people learning English as a foreign language can occur within a few years. Certain age groups also play a more important role in instigating and advancing change than others. The complex interaction between these factors means that it is perfectly possible that there will be widespread shifts in the way languages are used in the future.)

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